

The University of Chicago

THE LANGUAGE OF
THE ALLITERATIVE *SIEGE OF*
JERUSALEM

A DISSERTATION SUBMITTED TO THE
FACULTY OF THE DIVISION OF THE
HUMANITIES IN CANDIDACY FOR THE
DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

DEPARTMENT OF ENGLISH LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE
SEPTEMBER, 1943

By
ALLEN BOND KELLOGG

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PREFACE

A detailed analysis of the phonology and accidence of the Laud MS of the Siege of Jerusalem constitutes the first two sections of this study. For the third section, a consideration of dialect features, all seven MSS were carefully examined. These were available to me in the form of photostatic negatives in the possession of the University of Chicago Libraries. For a description of the MSS one may consult the Introduction written by Dr. Mabel Day for the edition of the poem begun by Professor Kölbing, completed by Miss Day, and published by the Early English Text Society (Original Series, No. 188).

I am deeply grateful to Professor James R. Hulbert for suggesting as a subject of investigation and special study the language of a poem of such vigor and linguistic interest as the alliterative Siege of Jerusalem. His criticisms and guidance have been stimulating and wise. My obligation to Middle English scholars generally has naturally been great. This is particularly true in the case of Professor J. P. Oakden of Manchester University, whose scheme for dialectal analysis, set forth in his Alliterative Poetry in Middle English, I have followed with but slight modification. I am indebted to Professor Tom Peete Cross and to Professor John G. Kunstmann for helpful suggestions.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Chapter	Page
I. PHONOLOGY	1
A. The Native Element	1
1. Vowels and diphthongs	1
a) In stressed syllables	1
b) In syllables without principal stress	12
2. Consonants	15
B. The Scandinavian Element	17
1. Vowels and diphthongs	18
a) In stressed syllables	18
b) In unstressed syllables	21
2. Consonants	21
C. The French Element	22
1. Vowels and diphthongs	22
2. Consonants	26
II. ACCIDENCE	28
A. Substantives	28
B. Adjectives (and Adverbs)	30
C. Pronouns	31
D. Verbs	35
1. Formation of the preterite	35
a) Strong verbs	35
b) Weak verbs	39
c) Verbs of foreign origin	40
2. Inflection	41
a) Present	41
b) Preterite	43
c) Compound tenses	44
d) Infinitive	44
e) Participles	45
3. Preterite-present verbs	46
4. Anomalous verbs	47
III. DIALECT FEATURES	49
BIBLIOGRAPHY	63

CHAPTER I

PHONOLOGY

Since the language of the Laud MS is preponderantly Midland, the corresponding sounds in Old Mercian have been taken to illustrate the phonetic development. In some instances, which will be noted, a southern history must be assumed.

A. The Native Element

1. Vowels and Diphthongs

a) In Stressed Syllables

OE. a > a [a]

last(e) adj. and sb. 71, 225, 149, 962, etc. (OE. latost)

car sb. 38, 1236 canker sb. 30, 174

pan adv. and conj. 35, 84, 169, 177 sakles adj. 7

man sb. 101, 149, 154, 434 (never mon)

panked vb. 195 (cf. ponkep 1051, 1209)

fallen vb. 238, 373, 597, 727 (WS. feallan)

half sb. 951, halues 798 (WS. healf)

schal vb. 93, 183, 296, 299 (WS. sceal)

OE. a > a [a:] by lengthening

name(s) sb. 47, 140, 187 sake sb. 300, 935

made vb. 84, 190, 276, 336 hated vb. 923, 1043

hand(e) sb. 168, 347, 444, 769 (honde is also common)

OE. a + g > aw [aw]

drawen vb. 713, drawyn p.p. 389

dawe sb. 184, 1299 gnawen p.p. 1090

sawe(s) sb. 135, 879, 1155

OE. æ > a [a]

after prep. 34, 156, 257, 362 craft(e) sb. 86, 186

faste adv. 52, 203, 230, 283 what adj. 94, 134, 185

hadde vb. 19, 28, 33, 76 athel adj. 46

was vb. 3, 8, 17, 34

For each of these words the later Mercian texts have e as the stressed vowel (the Vespasian Psalter has e exclusively--see Kuhn pp. 19-20). According to Moore (p. 66) this development of æ to e took place only in Kent and the southwestern part of the Mercian region.

zaf vb. 22, 215, 343, 1083 (WS. geaf)
chaf sb. 802 (WS. ceaf)

OE. æ > a [a:] by lengthening

fader sb. 31, 109, 115, 194 dale sb. 572, 624
water sb. 51, 53, 59, 121 hauen(e) sb. 72, 192

OE. æ > e [e]

(The examples given below exhaust the list, except for minor variations in spelling.)

wrecche sb. 170, 869, wrecchys 298 when adv. 357
to gedres adv. 30, 106, 921, 925 redly adv. 88
wecche sb. 382 cf. wacche sb. 631, 884
chek wecche sb. 732 cf. nyzt wacche sb. 728

OE. æ + g > ai, ay, ei, ey [ai], later [ei]

fair adj. 194, 360, 551, 1144, fayr 1246, 1322
seide vb. 79, 177, 208, 1291 seid p.p. 999
saide vb. 86, 196, 219 sey vb. 97
day sb. 124, 426, 459, 520 brayn sb. 540, 822, 1199

OE. æ + h > auȝ [auȝ]

lauȝ vb. 495 (< OM. hlæhhan)

OE. æ + h > ey, ay [ei]

sey vb. 180 'saw' say 581--but also saw [sau] 1045 (< OM. seah)
ex̅te card. 1126 < OM. s̅hta (WS. eahta) was presumably pronounced [eɪt̅e].)

OE. e > e [e]

helm(es) sb. 422, 547, 1123, 1185 sent vb. 45, 80, 170
telle(n) vb. 48, 93, 108, 178 helpe vb. 39, 119, 664
sette(n) vb. 56, 301, 321, 419 men sb. 124, 138, 383, 447
wente(n) vb. 251, 1149, 1325, 1333

OE. e > e [e:] or [e:] by lengthening

euē(e) adv. 146, 452, 1022, 1178 wedour sb. 59, 62
stede sb. 223, 332, 978, 1015 ende sb. 67, 164, 297
mete sb. 132, 1066, 1088, 1161 wende vb. 69, 229, 267, 351

zelde(n) vb. 254, 347, 402, 1154 (WS. gielðan)
schelde(s) sb. 278, 554, 602 (WS. sciæld)

(The form falliþ 'fells' 926 (< OE. fællan) is WMidland.)

OE. e + g > ey, ay, ai [ei]

wey sb. 337, 1115, 1241 way 49, 1214
away adv. 251, 581, 1232, 1333 away 253, 419
brayd(e) sb. 66, 1095, 1192 seyñ p.p. 1218, 1222
sail sb. 66, tal sail 289, sayl 51 rayñ sb. 12, 532

OE. -eht > -e3t, -ey3t [ei3t]

stre3t adv. 915 strey3t vb. 385
hey3t vb. 973

OE. ea > a [a]

scharply adv. 666, 1071 am vb. 79
harne sb. 19, 871 harmys 495

OE. ea > a [a:] by lengthening

barn sb. 825, 827, 1078, 1090 bale sb. 183, 496, 592, 810
toward prep. 49, 64, 67, 454 ward sb. 419, 1214
hard(e) adv. 57, 510, 539, 653

OE. ea > e [e:] by lengthening

berdis sb. 360 (the only instance, but note the short e [e] in
merkeþ vb. 1186 (etc.), probably from OE. mearcian)

OE. eo > e [e]

hert(e) sb. 275, 593, 915, 992 bent sb. 308, 482, 540, 545
seluere sb. 258, 406, 414, 464 ferr(e) adv. 129, 131, 367, 378
her pron. 40, 234, 274, 275 hem pron. 20, 22, 24, 33
hym self pron. 272, 889, 915, 932 cf. hymself 151
selke sb. 414, 1275 cf. silk 323

OE. eo > e [e:] by lengthening

heuen sb. 67, 111, 153, 508 erbe sb. 9, 86, 117, 166
sword sb. 317, 396, 749, 1172 zerne adv. 789, 817, 1327
seuen card. 611, 710, 945 berne(s) sb. 73, 75 cf. burnes below

OE. eo > a [a]

hart sb. 885 (the only instance except for warpþ 779 and warpen
225, which may owe their vowel to ON. varpa)

OE. eo > o [ø]

storte sb. 575 (the only instance)

OE. eo > u [ø]

sulf pron. 2 hymself 151
suþ adv. 13, 74, 151, 193 (The only variant is syþ 1202. The

sub-forms can, of course, be derived from late OE. sybban; note also OE. sylf.)

OE. eo > u [ø:] by lengthening

burne(s) sb. 221, 271, 369, 411 (a common word: occurs 27 times)

OE. i > i, y [i:]

3if conj. 15, 21, 780, 782 myd prep. 50, 55, 111, 123

bri3t adj. 406, 539, 589, 752 bry3t 198, 639, 729, 749

myche(l) adj. 44, 71, 294, 603 micel 862

fisch(es) sb. 130, 1068 grym adj. 40, 50, 327

kny3tes sb. 73, 209, 211, 214 (<oniht < earlier Merc. cneht < cnecht by smoothing; see Moore p. 68)

fi3t sb. 460, 509, 513 (cf. preceding note)

silk sb. 323 (<sile < earlier Merc. siolc by smoothing; see Moore p. 67)

OE. i > i, y [i:] by lengthening

fynde vb. 23, 367, 388, 1034 child sb. 104

wynd(e) sb. 55, 59, 62, 717 wyndis 1226

bing(es) sb. 505, 427 bynges 234, 1218

y pron. 23, 79, 83, 88 I 773, 783, 972, 975

wye(s) sb. 204, 269, 341, 371 lyp vb. 29, 734, lipe, 508

OE. i > e [ɛ]

resen vb. 899 clef sb. 102

medil sb. 1248 cf. myddel 55, 152

OE. i > u [y]

hulte sb. 750 (the only instance)

(3it adv.--131, 155, 259, 335, etc.--can hardly come from OM. gēt, but must rather come from WS. gīet.)

Words showing the influence of a preceding w on OE. i (and related vowels):

worche(n) vb. 980, 996, worchyn 1105 (OM. wircan)

worse adj. 866, worst 869 (OE. wiersa, wierresta)

wol(e) vb. 97, 782, 885, 980, wolle 632, 949

womman sb. 91, 217, 225, 528

OE. o > o [o] or [ɔ]

folke sb. 129, 203, 387, 395 oft(e) adv. 7, 736

god sb. 84, 107, 195, 254 for conj. 36, 38, 77, 262

forþ(e) adv. 189, 426, 440, 627

on prep. 8, 17, 18, 20 (In ll. 46, 51, 347, 543 an, an earlier

form, appears; also in anon adv. 53, 58, 521, 529.)

(With regard to derst pret. 3 sg. (l. 1255) Miss Day's note is: "a southern form in which the vowel is levelled from ME. pres. der, OE. dearr"--with confusion of meaning also between the verbs durran and purfan.)

OE. o > o [ɔ:] by lengthening

boled(e) vb. 35, 38, 1302, 1324 ouer prep. 21, 42, 50, 51
word sb. 121, 341, 779, 1229 gold sb. 84, 258, 280, 326

Lengthening of the o which in OE. served as a variant with a before a nasal is of course common:

honde sb. 596, 991, 1006, 1209 brond(e) sb. 539, 543, 766
lond(e) sb. 83, 98, 293, 304 (invariably with o)
longe adv. 223, 252, 892, 923 ewe lombe sb. 1224

OE. o + g > ou, ow [ɔ:v]

brouden p.p. 615, browded 744 bow men sb. 665

OE. -oht > o3t, -ou3t [ouxt] or [ouxt]

wro3t(e) vb. 24, 47, 120, 1234, wrou3ten 1281

wro3t p.p. 677, ywro3t 462

bou3t vb. 496, bou3t(e) p.p. 1210, 1304, 1317

dou3ty adj. 475, dou3ti 459, 990, dou3tiest 1203

OE. u > 'u (v), o (especially beside a minim) [v]

put(te) vb. 123, 243, 378, 1290 ful adv. 91, 214, 294, 305
vnder prep. 3, 5, 61, 295 sone sb. 41, 110, 115, 117
come vb. 263, 350, 356, 424 come(n) p.p. 79, 208, 1037
wonder adv. 355, 662, 677, 1225 gome(s) sb. 165, 343, 390, 922
folowed 'baptized' 203; the spelling fouled 189 is puzzling.

OE. u > ou [v:] by lengthening

wounde(s) sb. 493, 816, 838, 847 woundis 246
bounden vb. 359, 585 bounden p.p. 369, 377, 825
grounde sb. 1108, 1120 stounde sb. 37
ygrounde p.p. 555 founden vb. 1270
schoulder sb. 1084 cf. scholdres 554

OE. u > a [a]

swallen vb. 1145 swalten vb. 1172

OE. u + g > ou, ow [v:]

foule(s) sb. 310, 727, 887, foul 1009 cf. fole 888
flower 'flew' 653 sowe sb. 1206
flower 'fled' 310, 611 zoupe sb. 33 (< OM. gugop)

(OE. purh appears as pro (12 times) and as proz (9 times)--pronounced [θru:] and [θru:x] respectively?)

OE. y > i, y [i]

dynt(es) sb. 799, 1198, 1200, 1208 dide(n) vb. 127, 319
dyn sb. 248, 574, 1125, 1189 lyste vb. 458, 1262
synne sb. 7, 1258 synful adj. 170
britned p.p. 404, brytned 936 cf. brutned vb. 1235
first ord. 109 cf. furst 858 and ferste 429
brylled vb. 831, nose brylles sb. 1199 cf. yþrelled p.p. 1117

OE. y > i, y [i:] by lengthening

gild(e) adj. 326, 558, gilden 546
kyng sb. 6, 38, 85, 90 ("short from the middle of the thirteenth century"--Emerson p. 1v)
mynde sb. 127, 1309, mynde vb. 501
kynd(e) sb. 118, 299, 1029, 1050

OE. y > e [ɛ]

ferste ord. 429 ferst sb. 831
bretnes vb. 1128 yþrelled p.p. 1117
scherte sb. 348, chertes 1238 stertis vb. 780

OE. y > e [ɛ:] or [e:] by lengthening

deden vb. 338 berde sb. 1087 cf. burde 100
crepel sb. 1029 elleueþ ord. 147

OE. y > u, o (before a minim) [y]

brutned vb. 1235 furst ord. 858
fulle sb. 131 gult sb. 1159
churche sb. 139 suche adj. 172
murdred p.p. 897 mulle sb. 1286
burie vb. 568, 1148 busy adj. 568
comes sb. 491 þrom sb. 1316

OE. y > u [y:] by lengthening

burde sb. 100
vmbe adv. and prep. 65, 329, 631, 748, 758, 1109 (Influence from ON. umb, with unfronted vowel, is possible here.)

OE. y appears as

i or y (65 times)
u (12 times, not including vmbe)
e (11 times)
o (2 times)

OE. eo appears as

e (approximately 225 times)
u (47 times)

o (once)

a (once)

Vowel length is generally indicated--and in one of three different ways: for example, the word steel (OM. stēl) is spelled

stele 422, 453 (the most common way),

steel 1196,

steil 522 (the only instance among native words).

(The spelling streynge 287, 803, indicates a raising of the vowel; the usual form is strengþ(e) 284, 516, 1028, 1162.)

OE. ā > o, oo [ɔ:]

ston sb. 352, 530, 826, 870

holy adj. 103, 111, 116, 139

brod(e) adj. 57, 66, 288, 446

non pron. 89, 97, 318, 578

who pron. 266, 458, 500, 544

score(s) sb. 40, 87, 92

roos vb. 55, 1085

boot vb. 813

(A possible exception is man sb. 166, which may derive from OE. mān.)

Late OM. ā (WS. ēa), the result of late OE. lengthening, is a frequent source of o [ɔ:]

hold(en) vb. 260, 263, 991, 1003

told p.p. 262, 452, 1151

bold(e) adj. 229, 271, 377, 451

solde vb. 1303, 1312

cold adj. 534

colde sb. 1026

In two instances, however, the vowel seems to indicate development from southern forms:

vmbe felde vb. 1127

dwelde vb. 309 (by analogy with the present?)

OE. ā > a [a] by shortening

askeþ vb. 202, 502, 754, 1039

mansed adj. 154

any adj. 86, 95, 512, 686

hatte vb. 162

an art. 133, 137, 270, 297 (from lack of stress)

attyr sb. 654

OE. ā + g > ow [ɔ:v]

owen adj. 983, 1050, 1078, 1090, owne 518

owen(e) vb. 784, 968

OE. -āht > -aht, -auht [auht]

rahte(n) vb. 14, 807, rauhte(n) 934, 956, 1059, 1212

lauhte vb. 279, lauhte p.p. 400, 692

bytaht vb. 1160

OE. a + w > ou, ow [ɔ:v]

soule sb. 520, 720, 932, 943

sow vb. 1291

blowe(n) vb. 439, 521, 634, 728, blowyng vbl. 740
know(e) vb. 331, 411, knoweþ vb. 768, vnknownen adj. 119

OE. ǣ (ǣ-i) > e [ɛ:]

<u>clene</u> adj. 91, 102, 118, 757	<u>clene</u> adv. 627, 694, 827
<u>flesch(e)</u> sb. 31, 175, 702, 1068	<u>eche</u> adj. 92, 107, 124, 131
<u>er</u> adv. 252, 335, 460, 584	<u>hele</u> sb. 123, 199
<u>rer</u> vb. 887, <u>rered</u> 124	<u>se</u> sb. 42, 56, 57, 288

OE. ǣ (ǣ-i) > e [ɛ] by shortening

<u>neuer</u> adv. 35, 101, 109, 144	<u>euer</u> adv. 75, 84, 113, 114
<u>left(e)</u> vb. 164, 290, 928	<u>left(e)</u> p.p. 578, 595
<u>heste(s)</u> sb. 275, 1003	<u>ledde</u> vb. 892
<u>clenly</u> adv. 174	<u>erst</u> adv. 920

OE. ǣ (ǣ-i) > a [a] by shortening

<u>lafte(n)</u> vb. 185, 302, 437, 568	<u>lafte</u> p.p. 632, 1245
<u>ladde(n)</u> vb. 435, 564, 1133	<u>arst</u> adv. 161
<u>laste</u> vb. 421, 512, 542, 1193	<u>lasteþ</u> vb. 418, 992
<u>clansed</u> vb. 241	<u>braste</u> p.p. 17
<u>sprad</u> vb. 288, <u>sprad</u> p.p. 405	<u>ouer sprad</u> p.p. 486

OE. ǣ (ǣ-i) + g > ay, ey [ɛi]

<u>gray</u> adj. 620, 745	<u>may</u> sb. 94
<u>fey</u> adj. 460, 610, 770, 926	<u>keyes</u> sb. 974, 1212
<u>sey</u> vb. 1030	<u>seyen</u> vb. 899

OE. ē > e, ee [e:]

<u>kepe</u> vb. 275, 438, 608, 617	<u>cheke(s)</u> sb. 29, 87, 469
<u>he</u> pron. 12, 19, 28, 33	<u>me</u> pron. 93, 181, 183, 185
<u>azen</u> adv. and prep. 157, 342, 370, 424	

<u>dede</u> sb. 151, 159, 179, 904	(WS. <u>dǣd</u>)
<u>wede</u> sb. 217, 225, 348, 560	(WS. <u>wǣde</u>)
<u>leche(s)</u> sb. 39, 840, 846, 1031	(WS. <u>lǣce</u>)
<u>ferly</u> sb. 31, 194, 233	(WS. <u>fǣrlīc</u>)
<u>weren</u> vb. 114, 354, 426, 688	(WS. <u>wǣron</u>)
<u>þer</u> adv. 285, 320, 778	(WS. <u>þǣr</u>)

<u>her(e)</u> vb. 129, 340, 821, 855	cf. <u>hure</u> 1097	(WS. <u>hīeran</u>)
<u>leueþ</u> vb. 167, <u>leued</u> vb. 186, 898, 1319		(WS. <u>līefan</u>)
<u>ten</u> card. 122, 146, 437, 456		(WS. <u>tīen</u>)
<u>chese(s)</u> sb. 364, 380		(WS. <u>cīese</u>)
<u>stele</u> sb. 422, 453, <u>steel</u> 1196, <u>steil</u> 522		(WS. <u>stīel</u>)

OE. ē > e [ɛ] by shortening

<u>azens</u> prep. 215, 775, 803, 1029	<u>twenti</u> card. 445, 452
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kepten vb. 238, 621, 835blesse vb. 440, 1000mette(n) vb. 925, 1161swetter adj. 240kept p.p. 995blessed adj. 181, 188dempte vb. 134fedde vb. 130wepne sb. 386, 457, 541, 1191(WS. wāpen)

A southern development is implied by the forms brad 'roasted' 1078, 1090 (WS. brēdan) and lat vb. 495, 509 (WS. lātan), though the latter, an imperative plural, may owe its vowel to ON. lāta. A southern--more specifically, southwestern--development is implied by the form hur(e) vb. 886, 1097 (LWS. hýran).

OE. ē (< earlier ēo before a back cons.) > i [i:]sike adj. 207(WS. sēoc)rich sb. 790(cf. WS. rēocan)OE. ē (< earlier ēo before a back cons.) > y [ɪ] by shorteningsyknes sb. 35, syknesse 1024, 1038OE. ē + g > ey [ɛɪ]; later form = ie, ye [i:ɛ]twey card. 133, 269, 701, 707eyen sb. 997, 1045(EWS. ēage)bies sb. 1274, byes 639, 1060(EWS. bēag)lye sb. 304(WS. līeg)OE. ē + h > ey [ɛɪ]; later development = y [i:]bey conj. 7, 22, 38 (WS. bēah)peyes sb. 700 (WS. pēoh)hey(e) sb. 51, 228, 448, 543heye adv. 1225, heyly 199, heylych 973hey(e)adj. 518, 646, 662, 663, hyze 413OE. ē + h > y [ɪ] by shorteninghyzte sb. 649OE. ēa > e, ee [ɛ:]grete adj. 195, 280, 287, 324ded adj. 124, 200, 600, 636red(e) adj. 12, 55, 304, 633deþ sb. 124, 159, 179, 184betyn p.p. 468, 977, 1288beten 10chepe vb. 1314, chepis sb. 1314bred(e) sb. 132, 1069, 1141streem sb. 686, stremes 70, stremys 1021OE. ēa > e [ɛ] by shorteningcheffare sb. 1314OE. ēa + w > ew [ɛʊ]schewe vb. 194, 436, 783scheweþ vb. 863schewed vb. 242, 341, 998schewyng vbl. 278

fewe adj. 1110, 1307fewer adj. 23hewen p.p. 640, 755, 1279to hewen p.p. 1004hewen vb. 1123, hewyn 307dewe sb. 624OE. ēa + w > aw [av]rawe adj. 702 (See Luick's discussion of OE. strēaw, p. 415.)OE. ēo > e, ee [e:]lede(s) sb. 98, 242, 983, 1017be sb. 14, bees 32, 34tre(e) sb. 152, 456, 907, 1287be vb. 15, 188, 294, 296der adj. 126, 180, 222, 272knees sb. 238, 373depe sb. 281, 1150, deep 52, 68pre card. 106, 108, 931, 1217OE. ēo > e [e] by shorteningtenful adj. 234, 410, 868tenfulle 213breste sb. 471breſt plate 744friendles adj. 905frendſchup sb. 1056wexen vb. 1145ffel vb. 1127, felle(n) 942, 1073, 1113OE. ēo > u [ø] by shorteningful vb. 61OE. ēo > o [o:] by shifting of stress3o [xo:] ? [xjo:] ? pron. 101, 104, 162, 218, 1078, 1092OE. ēo (when it remained a falling diphthong) + w > eu, ew [iʊ]trewe(s) sb. 212, 213, 402, 502chewe vb. 1072trewe adj. 1, 1008, 1151, 1320treuþ sb. 1012rewful adj. 1079, rewþe sb. 899hewen vb. 557ewe sb. 1224, eued vb. 1224blewe(n) vb. 57, 718knew(e) vb. 43, 186knewen vb. 156OE. ēo (when it became a rising diphthong) + w > ou, ow [o:ʊ]trowe vb. 1203how vb. 544four card. 288, 325, 392, 393, 1226 (So Luick, p. 375)3ou pron. 1091, 1227; 3our pron. 1216 (Luick says, p. 367, that as a result of the 3 these developed early to [ju:], [ju:r].)OE. ī > i, y [i:]while adv. 98, 418, 421, 512whyte 3, 27, 874lif sb. 98, 512, 1094lyf 892, 924, 946, 1190my pron. 87, 181, 199, 246white adj. 11, 348, 465tyme sb. 1, 21, 25, 27by prep. 73, 136, 187, 281pyne vb. 499, pyned vb. 8, 160, pyned p.p. 123, 703OE. ī > i, y [i] by shorteningriche adj. 3, 169, 177, 303diche(s) sb. 625, 662, 808, 1150prytty card. 1316fifte ord. 142tīd p.p. 374, tydde vb. 25bytidde vb. 234, bytydde 917

wymmen sb. 830, 1099, 1143

OE. ī (< earlier Merc. ē before ht) > i, y [i] by shortening
li3t sb. 242, torche li3t 846

li3t adj. 762, ly3t 1256, ly3tter 252

OE. ī + w > ew [iʊ]

newe adj. 176, 797, 939, 955

newen vb. 182

OE. ō > o, oo [o:]

sone adv. 56, 85, 156, 206 roof sb. 1250

to prep. 10, 24, 42, 45 foot sb. 988

flode sb. 78, floode 479 blod(e) sb. 12, 496, 540, 571

goode adj. 95, 546, 638, 1036 good sb. 84, 1142

do vb. 134, 184, do p.p. 1323, don p.p. 179, 725, 1231, 1299

(Of interest as a possible anticipation of the great vowel shift
 is the spelling doun 904 for the infinitive (OE. dōn) and (984)
 for the present plural (OE. dōp).)

OE. ō > o [o] by shortening

oþer pron. 42, 68, 137, 270

broþer sb. 148, 936

OE. ō + g > ow [u:]

drow(e) vb. 940, 1182, 1331 drowen 319, 426, 449, 570

slow(e) vb. 151, 710, 1197 slowen 18, 268, 492, 767

ynow(e) adj. 120, 204, 669, 748, ynow adv. 793

swowande pr. p. 536 towe adv. 355

OE. -ōht > -o3t, -ou3t [ouxt]

bro3t vb. 192, 231, 259, 924 bro3t p.p. 929, 969, 1005, 1052

y bro3t p.p. 297 bysou3t vb. 1240

sou3t(e) vb. 42, 291, 541, 704 sou3t(e) p.p. 1033, 1269, 1277

no3t sb. 303, 419, 421, 1100 no3t adv. 19, 138, 156, 366

o3t sb. 387 þo3t vb. 74

OE. ō + w > ow [o:ʊ]

growyng pr. p. 40 growyn p.p. 110

glowande pr. p. 908, 1014, 1252

OE. ū > u (v), ou, ow [u:]

vp adv. 57, 243, 289, 323 prute adj. 138

vs pron. 108, 440, 496, 509 ous pron. 1334

doun adv. 9, 68, 167, 322 loude adj. 248, 525, 739

doust sb. 531, 574, 719, 1280 þousand sb. 129, 418, 420, 430

now adv. 41, 181, 295, 297 how adv. 78, 356, 478, 950

OE. $\bar{u} > u$ [u] by shortening

unbuxum adj. 365

(The adversative conjunction is invariably spelled bot.)

OE. $\bar{u} + w > ow$ [u:]

rowe adj. 886 (See Luick, p. 368.)

OE. $\bar{y} > i, y$ [i:]

ybes sb. 50, 64, 282

hyued vb. 33

litel adv. 705, 734

lyte adv. 22, 375

hyde sb. 175

hydeles adj. 698

kybe vb. 979

kybeþ vb. 964

ryue adj. 791

OE. $\bar{y} > e$ [e:]

forbesyn sb. 395

OE. $\bar{y} > e$ [e] by shortening

schred p.p. 281

OE. $\bar{y} > u$ [y:]

fur sb. 415, 532, 548, 653, 1122, fures 729

gledfur sb. 1252, fured vb. 896

cud p.p. 211, cupe sb. 38

luþer adj. 149, 946, 1072

(Note also the spelling houshed (OE. hȳscan) in l. 976.)

OE. $\bar{y} > u$ [y] by shortening

kuppe sb. 90

fuste(s) sb. 1027, 1140 (may have been shortened at a later date)

OE. $\bar{y}$ appears as

i or y (13 times)

u (16 times)

e (2 times)

I have not considered such words as pyzt 9, whyppes 11, and frytted 814, the etymology of which is not clear.

b) In Syllables without Principal Stress

1) Second Elements of Compounds

Vowels and diphthongs in the second elements of compounds apparently experience, with regard both to quantity and to quality, the same fortunes as those in syllables bearing the primary stress:

brynston sb. 671

gledfur sb. 1252

sixtene card. 418

liflode sb. 1072

selcoupes sb. 821

cheffare sb. 1314

bold brayned adj. 1188 dore nayl sb. 1074

2) Heavy Suffixes

OE. -dōm > dom [o:]

fayndom sb. 1025

kyngdomes sb. 43

OE. -ful > -ful, -fulle [v]

tenful adj. 234, 410, 868 tenfulle 213

gynful adj. 809 jenfulle 1133

synful adj. 170 carful adj. 1010 bretful adj. 386

OE. -hād > -hod [o:]

kny3thod sb. 856, 957

OE. *-hād > -ede [e:]

falsede sb. 1104

OE. -ig > i, y [i:]

dou3ti adj. 459

dou3ty adj. 475

many(e) adj. 43, 76, 285

craftily adv. 462

bloody adv. 599, 1119

mody adj. 1043

body sb. 10, 152, 224

hony sb. 698

OE. -lēas > -les, -lese [e:] (The spelling -less, indicating shortening, does not occur.)

sakles adj. 7

lawles adj. 495

faibles adj. 481

wemlese adj. 197

endeles adj. 113, 114

boteles adj. 1141

OE. -līc(e) > -ly, -lye [i:] or [i]

ferly sb. 31, 194, 233

redly adv. 88

clenly adv. 174

merveylous lye adv. 1254

heyly adv. 199

OE. -līc(e) > -lich, -liche, -lych [i] or [i]

wonderlich adv. 649, 811

worliche adj. 161

heylych adv. 973

OE. -nes(s) > -nes, -nesse [e]

syknes sb. 35

syknesse 1024, 1038

lyknesse sb. 245

briztnesse sb. 411

OE. -scipe > -schip, -schyp [i], -schup [y]?

worschip sb. 980

worschup 982, 1011

manschyp sb. 777

frendschup sb. 1056

OE. -weard > -ward [a]

toward prep. 49, 64, 67, 454

froward prep. 63, 598, 969

3) Prefixes

OE. ā- > a- [a]

abide vb. 308, 428aryse vb. 634

OE. ā- (< on-) > a- [a]

aboute adv. and prep. 16, 250, 264, 314azen adv. and prep. 157, 342, 370, 424a myd prep. 28, amydde 925away adv. 253, 419, away 251, 581

OE. be-, bi- > by- [i]

byfor adv. and prep. 148, 276, 373, byfore 114byhold(e) vb. 228, 334, 641, 662 bytidde vb. 234bygynne vb. 643, 797, bygan 221, 1047, bygonn 357

OE. for- > for- [o] or [ɔ]

forsakeþ vb. 1061, forsoke 1134, 1155for beten p.p. 842for schorne vb. 558

OE. fore- > for-

forbesyn sb. 395forwardis sb. 276

OE. ge- > i-, y- [i]

ynow(e) adj. 120, 204, 669, 748 ibrytaged p.p. 409yloued p.p. 145ywrozt p.p. 462ygrounde p.p. 555ycalled p.p. 6y casteled p.p. 286

OE. of- > a- [a]

a down adv. 713, 838adradde adj. 459

OE. on- > a- [a]

ablode adj. 559a flot adj. 285abrode adv. 405, 1047, 1165, a brode 729(Note an heye 51 with an, the earlier, as well as a later, form of on.)

OE. tō- > to- Probably [o]

to drawe p.p. 695to hewen p.p. 1004to cleuen vb. 554to clef vb. 916

OE. ymbe- > vmbe- [y]

vmbe casten vb. 18vmbe felde vb. 219, vmbe feldes 1127

OE. un- > vn- [u]

vnmeke adj. 28vnclene adj. 30vncouþ adj. 64

vn mylt adj. 556vnlappeþ vb. 961vnbaptized adj. 155

4) Inflectional Endings, etc.

In unstressed inflectional suffixes OE. a, e, o, u appear as e (probably [e]) or, less commonly, as i or y. Among the nouns a reckoning up of all s-plurals shows almost 1 in 8 to be of the -is (-ys) variety.

In other unstressed suffixes the OE. vowels were virtually always weakened to e: for example, þridde 111, 433, sonne 384, naked 361, 939, tale 355, 913. Among the rare exceptions are modir 897, wolcom (for wolcon) 53, appul 326, and wedour 59, 62.

2. Consonants

OE. b > b

In one instance (habben inf. 816) geminated f (OE. bb) has been retained; haue also occurs.

OE. c [k] > c, k [k]

calf sb. 1223; cold adj. 534; craft sb. 86; necke sb. 752; kene adj. 392; knees sb. 238; seke vb. 367 (but bysecheþ 1158)

OE. c has been dropped from the contracted form made. OE. cw- is respelled qu:- quelle vb. 514; quyk adj. 900.

OE. c [tʃ] > ch [tʃ]

chaf sb. 802; cheke (OM. cēce) sb. 29; diche sb. 625; churche sb. 139 (but kirke 236)

Doubled, the spelling is cch: recche vb. 782.

OE. d > d

Occasional unvoicings occur: dempte vb. 134; lent (lit. 'landed') p.p. 354; bretful adj. 386; vn mylt adj. 556. A d has been inserted (between continuants) in ponder sb. 532.

OE. f [f] > f

lif sb. 98; felde sb. 367

OE. f is sometimes assimilated to the following consonant: wymmen sb. 830; sometimes dropped altogether: hed sb. 17.

OE. f [v] > v [v]

lyue sb. 39; deuel sb. 782

(The spelling of glowes 'gloves' 753 is interesting.)

OE. g > g

gete vb. 1176, gate 26; gilden adj. 546; go vb. 343

OE. g > ɜ [j]

ɜe pron. 767; ɜyue vb. 892, ɜeuen 527, ɜaf 1083, ɜouen 1142

OE. g [j] > ʒ [j]

ʒif conj. 15; ʒyrys sb. 23; ʒong adj. 1125

OE. g after l or r > w

folweþ vb. 490; swelwe vb. 390; galwes sb. 696

arwe adj. 423; borwe sb. 486, borow (with parasitic o) 652

OE. g after r > i [i]

burie vb. 568, 1148

OE. cg > gg [dʒ]

rigge sb. 1079; lygge vb. (inf.) 869 (but lyande pr. p. 328)

OE. g has dropped from stiroþys sb. 523. It generally combines with the vowel preceding it to form a diphthong. The development in nehung sb. 421 (< OE. hnægung) is not clear.

OE. ng [ŋs] > ng [ŋ]

þinges sb. 427; fynGRES sb. 1027; hunger sb. 1064

OE. h > h

he pron. 8; holy adj. 103

OE. h > ʒ [x]? [xj]?

ʒo pron. 101, 104

OE. h drops

initially before l, n, and r: loude 248, necke 752, and rawe 702,

in the contraction nadde 171, and

occasionally before a vowel elsewhere: aluendel 128, lycam 171.

OE. h [ç] > ʒ [ç]

liʒt vb. 872; nyʒt sb. 421; neʒ adv. 1082

OE. h [x] > ʒ [x]

raʒte vb. 14; wroʒte p.p. 327

OE. hs > x [ks]

next adj. 966

OE. l > l

lo interj. 245; nedul (with parasitic u) sb. 939

Before ch [tʃ] l drops: eche adj. 92; suche adj. 172

OE. m > m

nones sb. 430 is of interest as showing in its initial consonant the retention of OE. m as n in unstressed position.

OE. n > n

Final n was commonly lost in unstressed words (my pron. 87) and syllables (helpe vb. 39).

OE. p > p

In pyble sb. 823 an OE. p has become voiced. p is occasionally inserted as a transition sound: dempte vb. 134; nempne vb. 187.

OE. r > r

r frequently suffers metathesis: prylled vb. 831

OE. s > s, c [s]

The only c spellings are grace 'grass' sb. 40 and graces 95.

OE. sc > sch, ssch, ch [ʃ]

The last spelling occurs but once and may be a slip: chertes 'shirts' 1238. It is possible, though, that chertes reflects the changed pronunciation of ch in Central French (see Schwan-Behrens, sec. 279). The spelling lordchipe is found in l. 508 in four of the MSS (ADUC). schye sb. 633 appears for 'sky.'

OE. t > t

t is often doubled after a short vowel in an open syllable: bitter adj. 246. It undergoes various sorts of assimilation: blesse vb. 1000; fifpe ord. 142. It sometimes develops after a final s: heste sb. 1003. Before st it drops: best adv. 266; laste adj. 149.

OE. þ, ð > þ, th [θ] or [ð]

The th spelling is found only in athel adj. 46 and in proper names. This interdental fricative is changed to a stop in murdred p.p. 897 and in hyzte sb. 649. It is dropped altogether in worliche adj. 161 and worschip sb. 980.

OE. w > w

w drops in so adv. 59 and in contractions like nas 39 and nozt 19.

OE. w > wh [hw]

The only examples: whizt sb. 348 and (presumably) whyppes sb. 11, the etymology of which is not clear.

OE. x [çs] > x [ks]

wexen vb. 575, wexe 1306

OE. x [xs] > x [ks]

woxen vb. 559, 1029

B. The Scandinavian Element

I have included here a few words like banke, the etymology of which is not entirely clear. Where a Scand. source seemed probable, though, this practice was considered justifiable. This does not mean that such a word might not have appeared in OE. or, if it had, that its descendant would have been at all different from the form we actually have here.

1. Vowels and Diphthongs

a) In Stressed Syllables

Scand. a > a [a]

<u>askes</u> sb. 716	<u>gaddes</u> sb. 1262	<u>angren</u> vb. 701
<u>calleþ</u> vb. 85, 964	<u>callen</u> 1295	<u>calde</u> p.p. 934
<u>carpen</u> vb. 730	<u>carpyn</u> 357	<u>carped</u> 196
<u>brast</u> vb. 1199	<u>cartes</u> sb. 1002	<u>carte fulle</u> 1275
<u>caste</u> sb. 621, 626	<u>casteþ</u> vb. 746	(cf. <u>kest</u> 1328)
<u>happis</u> sb. 1003	<u>haplich</u> adv. 1232	<u>hapneþ</u> vb. 168
<u>wanteþ</u> vb. 163, 1276	<u>wanted</u> 1244	<u>flatte</u> vb. 61
<u>flatten</u> vb. 808	<u>banke</u> sb. 73	(<u>bonke</u> is more common.)

brange adj. 17 (cf. O. Icel. þrængr, with u-mutation of a)
bal sb. 397, 828 (cf. O. Icel. þallr, genitive ballar)

Scand. a before nk, ng > o [o]

bonke sb. 290, 636, 665, 774, bonked p.p. 663
wronge sb. 1234 (here presumably lengthened to [o:])

Scand. a > a [a:] by lengthening

<u>band</u> sb. 586	<u>gapande</u> pr. p. 390	<u>karl</u> sb. 914
<u>gate</u> sb. 1215	<u>out wale</u> sb. 140	<u>wale</u> adj. 1021
<u>wale</u> vb. 1276	<u>waled</u> p.p. 884	<u>sale</u> sb. 1137
<u>rapis</u> vb. 65	<u>rapande</u> pr. p. 954	
<u>take</u> vb. 118, 266, 349, 1259, <u>withtake</u> 48		
<u>same</u> adj. and sb. 379, 1269, 1329		

Scand. a > e [e]

kest vb. 1328 kesten 641, 675, 715

Scand. a + g > aw [au]

lawe sb. 82, 202, 316, 336, lawles adj. 495
felawys sb. 142

Scand. e > e [e]

<u>grem</u> sb. 274, 922	<u>brestyþ</u> vb. 1082	<u>to bresteþ</u> 66
<u>brenne</u> vb. 1260	<u>brennen</u> 714	<u>brente</u> 302
<u>brent</u> p.p. 722, 1288	<u>brennande</u> pr. p. 397, 468, 810	
<u>ger</u> sb. 546, 589, 638, 665, <u>gere</u> 1196		
<u>renk</u> sb. 606, <u>renke</u> 839, 1136, <u>renkes</u> 954	(But note OE. <u>rinc</u> and the occasional change OE. i > e in this MS.)	

Scand. e > e [e:] by lengthening

hengen vb. 788 hengeþ vb. 395 hengyþ 1012

hengeð vb. 1219 brend p.p. 1264

Scand. e > a [a] by lengthening

garðe vb. 258

Scand. e + g > ay [ɛi]

gayne 'benefit' vb. 40

Scand. i > i, y [i]

hitteð vb. 1198

hytte 803

hytte p.p. 825

glitered vb. 415

mynned vb. 480

myneð vb. 505

kyppid vb. 477

kyst sb. 477

Scand. i > e [ɛ]

swem sb. 528

Scand. o > o [o]

alofte adj. and adv. 621, 749, 1015, 1180

vpon lofte 531, 738, 757

brosten p.p. 606, 977

Scand. o > o [o:] by lengthening

hoke vb. 875

Scand. u > u (v), o [ʊ]

brosten vb. (pret. pl.) 20, 306, 533, 569 vmbe casten vb. 18

vmbe adv. and prep. 65, 631, 329, 748 (but cf. OE. ymbe)

Scand. y > i, y [i]

brynye sb. 744

brynnys 277

slynge sb. 1231

bir sb. 652

byr 290

lifte vb. 997

lifte p.p. 399

wombe fille 1076 (cf. O. Icel. handfyllr)

Scand. y > u [y]

brunee sb. 1238

bruneys 955

brunyes 1119

Scand. y > e [ɛ]

leften vb. 279

Scand. y appears as

i or y (8 times)

u (3 times)

e (once)

Scand. ā > o [o:]

boðe pron. and conj. 44, 155, 232, 273, boð 126, 308, 1199

fro prep. 124, 571, 625, 648, froward prep. 63, 598, 969

or adv. 173, 223, 346, 403

bole fur sb. 714

wone sb. 792, 869, 1230

lote sb. 997

Scand. ā + g > ow [o:v]

low adv. 171

lower adj. 1312

Scand. $\bar{e}$

felawys sb. 142 is the only example; the e had probably shortened.

Scand. $\bar{i} > i, y [i:]$

tit adv. 185, 355 tyt 93, 630, 1177 bryuande pr. p. 433

Scand. $\bar{i} > y [i]$ by shortening

wyztly adv. 1195 whyztly 617

Scand. $\bar{o} > o [o:]$

bone sb. 181 croked adj. 125 croked vb. 1029

toke vb. 429 token 77, 305, 358 vndertoke 270

hosebondes sb. 103 (under strong secondary stress; see further discussion below)

The spelling of stour adj. 385, 1180 is puzzling.

Scand. $\bar{o} > o [o]$ by shortening

bolned vb. 57

Scand. $\bar{o} + g > ow [u:]$

plowes sb. 1290

Scand. $\bar{o} + h > ou [o:u], o_3 [o:ux]$

pou conj. 592 po_3 318, 770, 771, 772

Scand. $\bar{u} > ou [u:]$

boun adj. 183, 345, 405, 660

bounys vb. 741

Scand. $\bar{u} > u [u]$ by shortening

buske vb. 183 busken 369, 739

busked vb. 741 busked p.p. 455, 674

The spelling of hosebondes 103 seems wayward; the development of the first vowel (cf. O. Icel. hūsbōndi) should permit inclusion of the word in this group.

Scand. $\bar{y} > y [i:]$

skyes sb. 100 schye 633 by sb. 100

Scand. $\bar{æ} > e [e:]$

hepyng sb. 493, 1310 sete sb. 1293

In wynges sb. 405, 408 the stressed vowel has been raised to [i], doubtless by the following ng; note the spelling streyngebe 287.

Scand. $\bar{æ} > a [a]$ by shortening

atlest vb. 379 atles 565 atled p.p. 366

Scand. $\bar{\phi} > e [e:]$

semelich adj. 981 semeliche 137

Scand. $au > ou [ou]?$

loused p.p. 762 (cf. O. Icel. lauss and OE. losian)

Scand. ei > ay, ei, ey [ɛi]

ay adv. 21, 67, 120, 136, nay 89, 97 raysen vb. 323
bei pron. 158, 275, 276, 394, bey 15, 21, 48, 54
layk sb. 872 layke vb. 840, 866 grayn sb. 107
bayne vb. 181 graybed p.p. 745 weyke adj. 1099

Scand. øy > ei, ey [ɛi]

dey vb. 691, 772, 782, 1087, deye 1095, 1189 (cf. O. Icel. deyja)
deyed vb. 6, 90, 916, 928, deyd 1231, deied 1330
Monophthongization has taken place in the first vowel of grehounde
sb. 1248. (Cf. O. Icel. grey.)

Scand. iū > e [e:]

mekly adv. 338 vn meke adj. 28

b) In Unstressed Syllables

Scand. vowels are reduced to e [ə], i or y [ɪ] in unstressed syllables: gate sb. 1215 (cf. O. Icel. gata); sete sb. 1293 (cf. O. Icel. sæt); carpen, carpyn, carped, kyppid (cf. O. Icel. karpa, karpaða, kippa, kipta)--however, with the possible exception of the pres. indic. 3 sg., the only distinctive Scand. inflectional form retained is that of the present participle -ande (cf. O. Icel. -andi), in which the a is preserved by the secondary stress as a [a]. Examples are gapande 390, rapande 954, pryuande 433.

Occasionally an unstressed vowel is dropped: grem (cf. O. Icel. gremi); swem (cf. O. Icel. svimi); kyst (cf. O. Icel. kista).

2. Consonants

Only a few modifications of Scand. consonants call for attention:

g has been dropped from a consonant group in bolned 57.

Initial h drops (as OE. h does) before r: rapis 65, rapande 954.

The spelling whyztly 617 (beside wyztly 1195) is unexpected, as is schye 633 (beside skyes 532, 725); the latter seems to represent an Anglicizing of Scand. sk.

Inflectional -r is invariably dropped: layk sb. 872, weyke adj. 1099, etc.

Finally, bretful 386 may represent, not OE. brerdfull (as Miss Day suggests), but a Scand. ancestor among whose descendants are Swed. bräddfull 'full to the brim,' Norw. bredd, Dan.

bred, etc. As Björkman points out (p. 168): "Teutonic zð is in Scandinavian represented by dd, in English, as a rule, by rd" He cites ME. od 'point,' O.W. Scand. oddr, OE. ord.

C. The French Element

1. Vowels and Diphthongs

The vowels of OF. loan words--by OF. is meant, basically, Central French--show, in general, the same quantitative differentiation as those of native words, being long in open syllables and short in closed ones (though even i and u in words of French origin are long in open syllables in ME. unless, as in the case of a word like city, other phonetic factors interfere). This lengthening, of course, occurs only in syllables which are now (in Middle English) stressed. OF. vowels, unlike OE., generally lengthen before st: note, for example, haste, beste, bost, and others listed below. In these lists I have in a few instances included words, like prisoun and precyous, in which (as the alliteration clearly shows) the stress has been shifted from the vowel in question. In such cases a certain amount of lowering is to be assumed, in accordance with English phonetic habits.

Frequently, as in the case of peys 'weight,' an AF. forebear (of northern French extraction) must be reckoned with, since the OF. word had long since given up the original vowel or diphthong (retained longer in the North) and substituted another. A number of divergencies from the regular OF. form must be taken account of.

OF. a > a [a]

<u>alas</u> interj. 1094	<u>barge</u> sb. 75	<u>cattes</u> sb. 699
<u>charmes</u> sb. 96	<u>dartes</u> sb. 838	<u>tabernacle</u> sb. 463
<u>armed</u> p.p. 391, 447, 1221		<u>cramp</u> sb. 1026
<u>cacchen</u> vb. 524, 656, 733		<u>lampe</u> sb. 1256

OF. a > a, aa [a:] by lengthening

<u>age</u> sb. 1099	<u>paas</u> sb. 500	<u>kaue</u> sb. 1111
<u>plate</u> sb. 471, 511	<u>chambr</u> sb. 732	<u>flambe</u> vb. 239
<u>face</u> sb. 28, 175, 1143	<u>masouns</u> sb. 800, 1277	<u>flamande</u> pr. p. 653
<u>haste</u> sb. 265, 382, 651		<u>hasted</u> vb. 19

OF. a before n + cons. > au [au] (So Luick, sec. 414, 2)

<u>daunsyng</u> sb. 851	<u>chaunce</u> sb. 883	<u>marchaunt</u> sb. 44
<u>vengaunce</u> sb. 1233	<u>veniaunce</u> sb. 1324	<u>marchaundise</u> sb. 1309
<u>grauntep</u> vb. 1036, 1102, 1160		<u>graunted</u> 1058

commaundyb vb. 1259, 1320

chaunge vb. 1020

chaungeb 1092

besauntes sb. 639, 1138

chaungen 1143

Exceptions are granteb vb. 999, besantes sb. 1274, regnance sb. 506, and seriant sb. 81. In auntred vb. 147 intervocalic y has been vocalized as u.

OF. ai, ei > ai, ay, ei, ey [ɛi]

praieþ vb. 1019

prayeþ 859

preien 1211

feynt adj. 877

faynt 1162

fayntly adv. 492

consail sb. 263, 690

consayl 209

conseil 350, 855, 1173

conseyl sb. 85, 350, 724

pay vb. 318, 1140, 1315

bargayned p.p. 1304, 1317

bargaynes sb. 1311

mereuail sb. 604

merueylous lye 1254

belfray sb. 386, 388

veil sb. 162

vail 231, 259

seint sb. 218, 232, 895

eyr sb. 240

ayer 1221

belfrayes sb. 1188

OF. au > au, aw [au]

faute sb. 175

defaute 1073, 1244

fauted vb. 387

saut sb. 643, 833

saute 1120, 1193

assaute sb. 1187

faucoun sb. 310

faucouns 888

gawged vb. 410

fauchoun sb. 395

sawters sb. 474

cause sb. 340, 344, 491

OF. e > e [ɛ]

pres sb. 216, 227

presen vb. 890

pressed 901

assent sb. 958, 996

certayn adj. 81

reuerence sb. 226

assembled vb. 265, 815

defence sb. 618, 668

defensable adj. 445

dressed p.p. 389

ydressed 278

serue vb. 517

belfray sb. 386, 409

werr sb. 394, 538, 796, 801 (ONF. werre)

OF. e > e [ɛ:] by lengthening

cesed vb. 1239

cesed p.p. 1137

egle sb. 326

apere vb. 1296

apered 1297

perle sb. 472

preche vb. 135, 148

prechyng sb. 1157

serche vb. 339

mayntened p.p. 927

tresour sb. 1012, 1259, 1332

beste sb. 397, 451, 589, 602

AF. ei (OF. oi) > ay, ey [ɛi]

quaynte adj. 331

pykeyse sb. 1278

peys sb. 1263

karayn sb. 682

careynes 118

OF. eu > eu, ew [ɛu] or [ɪu]

eure sb. 994

jewels sb. 1059, 1271 (cf. AF. jeual)

jewe sb. 300, 476, 785

jewen 4, 82, 1228

bew adj. 587

AF. e [ɛ:] by monophthonging of ai > e, ee [ɛ:]

pes sb. 1131, 1152

pees sb. 1175, 1211

resoun sb. 504, 506

trete vb. 502, 1101

trete sb. 402

tresoun sb. 723

fetoures sb. 1049

AF. e [ɛ:] by monophthonging of ei > e, ee [ɛ:]

mene adj. 1171

mene adv. 112

encresche vb. 139

leel adj. 1007

vnlele adj. 149

OF. e [ɛ:] > e, ee [ɛ:]

feble adj. 878

citees sb. 135

cytees 295

grecys sb. 651

contrees sb. 314

(cf. contreys 43)

(citees, contrees, etc. may, however, be trisyllabic.)

AF. e [ɛ:] by monophthonging of OF. ie > e [ɛ:]

chef adj. 337, 959

meschef sb. 166, 1066, 1077, 1088

pese sb. 823

pecis 1263

greued p.p. 552

maner sb. 284, 1184

ferce adj. 867

fers 834, 987

sege sb. 321, 335, 418

segyb vb. 1063

feffyt vb. 1326

AF. e [ɛ:] by monophthonging of OF. ue (oe) > e [ɛ:]

peple sb. 435, 499, 859, 880

preuep vb. 500

deil sb. 641, 712, 851, 1097

preued p.p. 99, 106

(Cf. pople 230 and doil 248)

AF. e [ɛ:] by monophthonging of OF. ue (oe) > e [ɛ] by shortening

kerchef sb. 207, 214, 220, 241

keuere vb. 1032

keuerep vb. 64

keuered p.p. 462

(cf. couered 470)

OF. i > i, y [i] by lowering

cite sb. 133, 137, 311

cyte 42, 1033, 1156

symple sb. 256

pite sb. 1152, 1243

pyte 1131, 1175

pykeyse sb. 1278

prince sb. 3, 172, 243

gynful adj. 809

(cf. jenfulle 1133)

griffouns sb. 552

delyueryn vb. 1032

OF. i > i, y [i:] by lengthening

cry sb. 18, 528, 635

crye vb. 1313

criour sb. 1295

atired p.p. 282, 442

atyred 463

aspyed p.p. 1165

myne vb. 1107

mynour sb. 1130, 1186

yre sb. 1046

vile adj. 1098, 1324

diademe sb. 928

fyne adj. 742

OF. o > o [o] or [ɔ]

profre sb. 1134

profrep vb. 1131

proffrip 1297

prophete sb. 15, 99, 1312

prophecie vb. 15

joly adj. 1228, 1271

jolieste adj. 538

corde sb. 363

cogges sb. 286

logge sb. 734

orisoun sb. 848

orible adj. 565

torche sb. 846

comens sb. 314

OF. o > o [ɔ:] by lengthening

bost sb. 297, 795

coste sb. 191

costes 64

a proched vb. 243

cote sb. 746

poke sb. 1303

rost sb. 1085 rostyþ vb. 1079 odour sb. 240
noble adj. 26, 867, 935, 1035 closed p.p. 453, 757
ost sb. 1111, 1126, 1313 oste 729

OF. o > o [o:] by lengthening

pore adj. 138, 906
poreil sb. 313 porayle 901 (see OED, porail)

AF. o + rie (OF. oire) > o [o:] by lengthening

storyl sb. 826 storijls sb. 330, 475

OF. oi > oi, oy [oi] or [oi]

croys sb. 18, 268 croysen vb. 524 voys sb. 1226
noye sb. 27, 47, 182 noyet vb. 27 spoyle vb. 637
anoynted p.p. 698 ynoyntid 299 voiden vb. 1098
stroyed p.p. 274 distroied 1292 (cf. destroyed 1098)
joye sb. 1023, 1059, 1108 oyle sb. 810, 848
poynt sb. 163, 607 noyse sb. 852 noyce 1179

OF. o [o:] > o [o:]

bote sb. 813 preciose adj. 472 (cf. precious 1258, 1261)
broches sb. 639, 1060, 1274 (with, presumably, an [o:] variant)

AF. o [o:] by monophthonging of OF. ue (early OF. uo) > o [o:]

people sb. 230
doil sb. 248, doylful adj. 159, 222 (i, y indicate here length for the o.)

AF. o [o:] by monophthonging of OF. ue (early OF. uo) > o [o] by shortening? [u] by rising and shortening?

couered p.p. 470

OF. u > u, o [u] by lowering (which may have taken place already in Anglo-French)

for justes vb. 538 a journeyd p.p. 1321 plunge vb. 787
burges sb. 490, 1247 tronchoun sb. 907, 909
somme sb. 418, 611 combred p.p. 898 comfort sb. 244
condit sb. 685, 1039 contreys sb. 43 coueyte vb. 340
conceyued vb. 104 boffetis sb. 14 trossen vb. 1332

AF. ui (OF. oi) > uy [ui]?

destroyed vb. 1098

AF. u [u:] (early OF. o [o:] or ou [ou]) > o, ou, ow [u:]

acounte vb. 1236 a fowe vb. 199 montayns sb. 726
conseil sb. 350, 855 crowne sb. 17, 299, 757, 927
pouder sb. 1280 powder sb. 718 rounde adj. 758
barouns sb. 73, 229 stour sb. 516, 841 vouched vb. 1151
resoun sb. 504, 506 prisoun sb. 1323 precyous adj. 1307

touched vb. 101, 224, 249

OF. ü in closed syllables > u [u]

juggen vb. 427

jugge 172, 1294

jugge 266

for juggyd p.p. 298

juge sb. 1294

juge 82

iustice sb. 4

iustise 82

justise 1294

juggement sb. 349

purged p.p. 750

OF. ü in open syllables > u, v [ɪv]

cure sb. 194, 1039

cur 86

cured p.p. 268

pur adj. 750, 759, 1267

pured p.p. 472

suwed vb. 133, 137

duke sb. 928, 1182

duk 1125

vseþ vb. 94

AF. ü (OF. üi) > u, ew [ɪv]

frut sb. 1326

jewyse sb. 349

jewes 'judgment' 266

Aphetic forms are common; for example:

cate sb. 1305

loyned p.p. 1088

scaped vb. 419

scorned p.p. 372

scourgis sb. 10

space sb. 22

standard sb. 385, 588

stof sb. 284

tachen vb. 655

2. Consonants

Some modifications of OF. consonants are worth noting, particularly of palatal l and n. It should be remarked that, except for these, the present section deals with spellings rather than sounds.

OF. c > s, c [s] before e, i (y)

sergis sb. 468

face sb. 28, 175

cyte sb. 42, 1033

OF. c > c [k] before o, u, or a consonant

colour sb. 331, 746

cure sb. 194, 1039

cler adj. 241

ONF. c (Cfr. ch) > k, c [k]

kaytif sb. 1330

caytifes 119, 767

cacche vb. 768

market sb. 925, 1313

cate sb. 1305

castel sb. 462, 580

cattes sb. 699

scaped vb. 419

OF. ch > ch [tʃ]

chef adj. 337, 959

charme sb. 848

serche vb. 339

ONF. ch (Cfr. c, ç) > ch, cch [tʃ]

fauchoun sb. 395

cacche vb. 768

cacchen 524, 656

OF. d (t) > th [θ]

faȳþ sb. 203, 968

faiples adj. 481, 492

OF. g > g, gg, j [dʒ] before e, i (y)

age sb. 1099

logge sb. 734

jenfulle adj. 1133

engyne sb. 1184, 1205

burges sb. 490

gentyl adj. 785

OF. g > g [g] before a, o, or a consonant

gaylers sb. 1160 gobet sb. 1142 grace sb. 254, 274

ONF. g (Cfr. gu) > g [g] before i

gile sb. 1102

OF. h, in words of Latin origin, was not pronounced. In words of Teutonic origin, it falls in with OE., ON. h:

harnays sb. 436, 438 hardy adj. 651 haste sb. 265, 382

OF. j > g, i, j [dʒ]

vengauce sb. 1233 veniaunce 1324 maieste sb. 931

iustice sb. 4 joye sb. 1023, 1059 jewyse sb. 349

OF. palatal l > l [l]

conseil sb. 350, 855 consail 263, 690 trauail sb. 270

OF. n before f > m [m] by assimilation

comfort sb. 244 (but cf. nonbr 'number' sb. 454, 458)

An n has been inserted in messengers sb. 336.

OF. palatal n > n, gn [n]

bargayned p.p. 1304, 1317 assyned p.p. 430

montayns sb. 726 sygne sb. 279

OF. qu (cu) > qu [kw]

quaynte adj. 331 quyrboyle sb. 11

OF. qu > k [k]

nakerer sb. 852 paske sb. 157, 316

In frosletes sb. 831 (OF. forceret) and marble sb. 620 we have dissimilation of r's--as well as metathesis in the former.

OF. ss in Class II OF. verbs > sch [ʃ]

persche vb. 1258 pulsched p.p. 471, 1263

abasched p.p. 795 burnesched p.p. 749

OF. ss in certain other verbs > sch, ssch [ʃ]

encresche vb. 139 crosschen vb. 534

quasschyng sb. 1191 (but cf. passe vb. 368, 378, 680)

OF. v > v, u, f [v]

visage sb. 1086 sauere sb. 1086 voys sb. 1226

fanward sb. 429, 549 soferayn adj. 986 a fowe vb. 199

In flauour sb. 239 a u (v) has been inserted (OF. flaor), perhaps by analogy with savour.

ONF. w (Cfr. gu, g) > w [w]

rewarde vb. 88 waytes vb. 779 wast sb. 1283

werr sb. 394, 538, 796 werred vb. 190, 399, 856

CHAPTER II

ACCIDENCE

A. Substantives

Most of the nouns in the Siege of Jerusalem can be profitably divided into two classes: (I) those which end in weak e in the nominative singular and (II) those which do not. Generally this distinction reflects differences existing in the OE. forms. Analogical formations and--still more important--scribal practices must frequently, however, be taken into account. The scribe may indicate length for his stressed vowel by adding a final e or by doubling the stressed vowel; or he may not bother to employ either device. The working of analogy is often discernible in his spelling; at other times we meet what seems to be merely scribal whim. These exceptions and vagaries are not common enough, though, to deprive the following outlines of their helpfulness. The normal endings of the two classes are:

	I	II
Singular, N. A.	--	e
G.	es, is, ys	es, is, ys
D.	--, e	e
Plural, N.A.G.D.	es, is, ys, s	es, is, ys

For the nominative singular typical forms are to be seen in ston 1285 and wif 161; in sohe 110 and gome 165. OE. short neuters with e from u in the nom-acc. pl. sometimes assumed e in the singular; this accounts for such a spelling as dale 624 (nom. sg.).

The normal endings for the genitive singular are exemplified in lyues 164, goddis 180, and nathannys 58. Occasionally we meet a form with no ending:

waspasian broper 936

be fader blysse 1025

for jesu sake 300

in tiberyus tyme 1

(cf. sir sabyns sake 935, 940)

In the following phrases we may have, rather than a genitive, the uninflected form of the noun entering into a compound:

þe sonne bemys 416
heuen king 518, 1209
þe burwe walles 828
ded as a dore nayl 1074

In the dative singular variant spellings sometimes obscure the basic pattern: on bak 455 and on bake 424; on þe wal 1225 and on þe walle 1229. But in the following phrases we pretty clearly have instances of the 'petrified' dative:

vpon lyue 39, 75, 578, 1069
to grounde 307, 550, 676, 712
by dome 691

Typical forms of the accusative singular are dom 366 and lif 98; ende 511 and tonge 77.

The endings of the nominative plural can be illustrated by cloudes 54, schippis 281, waspys 251. Several words (of more than one syllable) of French origin (or transmission) add just s: barouns 1006, marchals 882, montayns 726, senatours 903. The form dromedarius 449--beside dromedaries 570--is worth noting as the sole -us plural. The genitive plural in -s alone is represented by senatours 958 and possibly by masouns 800. The dative plural is represented by such forms as gomes 343 and gaylers 1160. The accusative plural shows the same endings as the nominative: lordes 39, tentis 324, zyrys 23. -s is fairly common with words of OF. origin: castels 569, floryns 1139, jewels 1271, mynours 1277, pauelouns 322, soudecours 291, tresours 1270.

Several plurals do not conform--generally for good historical reasons--to the twofold division set up above. For example, swyn 1145, from an OE. long neuter, shows no ending at all. face 1143, from OF., is apparently a nominative plural form, though it may be accusative singular. men 138, 1113, is invariable in the nominative plural, but the genitive plural takes the anomalous form mannes in line 13. Survivals of the OE. weak declension are seen in such genitive plurals as jewen 4, 82, 1228, apostlen 895, pornen 17, waspen 32, and waspene 34. nakerer 852 and stede 1124 are clearly genitives and apparently plural. cristen 424, eyen 1045, and ton 840 seem to be dative (plural) objects of prepositions. dawe 184, 1299, occurring only in the

expression do of dawe, displays a regular phonological development from OE. dagum. Accusative plurals without ending are hors 438, 3er 1217, mile 288, 412, 919, wynter 23, and cors 'courses' 685, the last from Old French. bokes 591, 1322, has given up its mutation plural. The form schone 'shoes' in line 1071 is interesting.

B. Adjectives (and Adverbs)

The scribe's habit of adding a final e to indicate length for the preceding vowel (and his numerous inconsistencies) has effectually obliterated any inflectional pattern for the adjective, weak or strong, singular or plural. The earlier rules for the employment of final unstressed e suffer as many exceptions as they find exemplars. A few common adjectives (and adverbs)--der, riche, grete--are invariable in their spelling. Participial adjectives show no inflection whatever:

a schillande schout 527
rennande teris 226
laschyng lye 304
f13tyng men 1113
blessed lord 181 (a vocative)
for juggyd wrecchys 298
be spilt folke 637
grounden speres 566

On the other hand, we have a relic of the older inflection, a genitive plural, in our bopere heste 1003, and possibly a dative singular in on rede blode 12.

The comparative of adjectives and adverbs is regularly formed by adding er to the stem of the positive:

<u>fewer</u> 23	<u>leuer</u> 83, 840, 1135
<u>sorer</u> 35	<u>lower</u> 1312
<u>frescher</u> 858	

With doubling of the final consonant:

<u>ly3tter</u> 252	<u>gretter</u> 823, 1248
<u>swetter</u> 240	

The superlative is regularly formed by adding est(e), ist to the stem of the positive:

<u>jolieste</u> 538	<u>dou3tiest</u> 1203
<u>fairest</u> 1104	<u>grettist</u> 647

Irregular comparison gives us the following forms:

Positive	Comparative	Superlative
(good, wel)	<u>beter</u> adj. 1095	<u>beste</u> adj. 537
	<u>better</u> adv. 93	<u>best</u> adv. 266, 965
(fer)	<u>ferr</u> adv. 129, 369, 873	
	<u>ferre</u> adv. 131, 378	
(*ivel)	<u>worse</u> adv. 866	<u>worst</u> adj. 869
(*late)		<u>laste</u> adj. 149, 225
		<u>laste</u> adv. 16
(myche(l))	<u>more</u> adj. 536, 777	<u>most</u> adj. 94
	<u>more</u> adv. 300, 1175	<u>moste</u> adv. 275, 1043
	<u>mor</u> adj. 358, 505, 1229	
	<u>mor</u> adv. 701, 731, 1116	
	<u>mo</u> adj. 127, 1322	
(nez)		<u>next</u> adj. 966

C. Pronouns

1. Personal Pronouns

First:

Singular N. y 23, 79, 83; I 773, 783, 1001, etc.

D. A. me 83, 93, 185, 490, etc.

Plural N. we 365, 366, 376, 512

D. A. vs 108, 367, 440, 1108

(The form ous in 1334 is pretty clearly an accusative.)

Second:

Singular N. bou 15, 86, 198

D. A. be 93, 96, 178, 180

Plural N. 3e 340, 767, 768, 770

D. A. 3ou 339 (for an intended vs), 770, 1091, 1227

Third:

Masculine

Singular N. he 8, 12, 19, 28

D. A. hym 13, 14, 18, 206

Neuter

Singular N. hit 22, 25, 30, 159

D. A. hit 62, 164, 226, 242

Feminine

Singular N. 3o 101, 104, 162, 218

D. A. hir 105, 164, 528

Plural N. bey 15, 21, 48; bei 158, 275, 276; hy 136, 1295

D. A. hem 22, 112, 125, 135

The personal pronouns are frequently used in a reflexive sense:

y schal buske me 183

to cacchen hem reste 733 (etc.)

2. (a) Reflexive

First:

Singular my self 966, 972; my selue 1230

Plural vs selue 872

Second:

Singular py self 379

Third: Masculine

Singular hym self 272, 889, 915; hymself 1329; hymsulf 151

Neuter (no feminines occur)

Singular hit self 241

Plural hem self 524, 710; hemself 1070, 1154

(self also appears as an adjective with the meaning 'same, own':

be self Josophus 1035

her self kynde 1048.)

2. (b) Intensive

Second:

Singular py self 996 (bou is not expressed.)

Plural 3ourselfen 1213

Third: Masculine

Singular hym sulf 2; hym self 986, 1294

3. Possessive

(There are no examples of the absolute use of a possessive.)

Singular: First Person

my bone 181, my cors 220, my herte 992, my hurt 199, etc.

myn owen barn 1090, myn honde 991 (no other instances of myn)

Second Person

py dep 179, 184, 200, py lycam 171, py witt 980, etc.

byn assent 996, byn eure 994, ledes byn owen 983

Third Person--Masculine

his 5, 10, 11, 17, etc.

Third Person--Feminine

hir 162, 164, 1078

Plural:

First Person

our 71, 98, 202, 376, etc. (We have a survival of the earlier genitive, 'of us,' in our bobere heste 1003.)

Second Person

your 295, 299, 339, 340, etc.

Third Person

her 40, 140, 234, 274, 275; here 1311; hir 1092

4. Demonstrative Pronouns

Singular

pat 73, 281, 1216

bis 764, 1211

Plural

bo 97

bis 140

All of these except bo (which occurs only in bo dukes 267) are much more common as adjectives:

pat lord 279; pat prince 3, pat wif 161, etc.

bis erbe 165, bis sir 35, bis worlde 140, etc.

bis lawles ledis 495, bis lordes 39, 254, bis wordes 173, etc.

(An old dative singular is preserved in the expression for þe nones (< for then ones < OE. for þam ānes) 430, 756.)

5. Interrogative Pronouns

Only one interrogative pronoun as such appears (and it is in an indirectly stated question): who in line 266; as adjectives we have the following:

what medecyn 94, what tokne 185, what moryne 1006

whiche man 16

Since none of these occur in direct questions their interrogative force is felt only indirectly and varies considerably, sometimes passing over into relative (or combined demonstrative-relative, 'that which') force.

6. Relative Pronouns

By far the most common of the relatives is pat (7, 24, 26, 42, etc.). In addition to its employment as a simple relative it receives several extensions in meaning; for example, is equivalent to

'he that' 520

'him that' 782

'that which' 555, 568, 984, 996, 1020, 1083

This last is also expressed by what in line 134 (to do what he

dempte) and in line 1276. As a relative pronoun of specific reference who appears only in its dative-accusative form whom 197, 246. As one of general or indefinite reference (equivalent to 'whoever') it occurs both in its simple form and in combination with so:

who 773 (passee hit who myzt)

who so 458 (who so wite lyste), 500 (who so be paas redeþ), 544
985, 1141, 1262, 1315

what (= 'whatever') appears as an adjective in the following:

condit he askeþ

for what burne of be burwe þat he brynge wolde.

7. Indefinite Pronouns

Singular

Plural

al 400; alle 68, 69, 72, 168, etc.

alle 107, 113, 125, 228

oper 42, 598, 763, 978, 1190, etc.

oper 345, 625, 674, 689

an oper 921, 985, 1134, 1182

þat on an oper 270

þat on (ende) þat oper 68

echon 456, 763, 776; echone 1093

non 89, 97, 318, 578; none 637

oȝt 387; noȝt 303, 419, 421, 1138

myche 480, 800, 801

be same 379, 1329

som 1091

som 1145, 1146; somme 711, 712

mony 431; many 604

boþe 155, 232, 273, 903

The indefinites are extremely common as adjectives:

al (singular) 19, 362, 396, 416

alle (either number) 26, 108, 84, 303, 427, 497

oper (either number) 137, 475, 623, 968

on nothan 41, on marie 1077, one by 'village' 100

no clerk 128, no wede 348, no fewer ȝyrȝs 23

non nyȝtes reste 261, non oper dede 904

ech, ech a 694, 698, 889, 962

eche, eche a 92, 447, 606, 798

euerech, euereche, euereche a 707, 498, 646, 849, 1167

any (either number) 86, 95, 1136, 1204

suche a prince 172

many, manȝe, monȝe (either number) 306, 482, 76, 43, 839, 676

segges a fewe 1110, no fewer 3yrys 23
myche, mychel, michel 44, 603, 810, 612, 435
bope sydes 663
be same side 1205, be same wyse 1269

D. Verbs

1. Formation of the Preterite

a) Strong Verbs (Weak Forms in Parentheses)

Class I

WS. ī, ā, i, i; OM. ī, ā, io (eo), i

Inf.	Pret. Sg.	Pret. Pl.	Past Part.
<u>rise</u> 401, 913, etc.	<u>roos</u> 55, 1085	<u>resen</u> 899 <u>risen</u> 933 (trans.)	
<u>aryse</u> 634			
<u>byte</u> 1068	<u>boot</u> 813		
<u>bite</u> 1138			
<u>ride</u> 887, 993		<u>riden</u> 1334	
	<u>drof</u> 52, 531	<u>dryuen</u> 838	<u>dryuen</u> 1253
<u>bide</u> 765			
<u>abide</u> 308, 428			
<u>strike</u> 310, 683 etc.			
<u>grype</u> 1248, 1262	<u>bystrode</u> 1204		
		<u>schonen</u> 412, 1256	

Class II

WS. ēo (ū), ēa, u, o; OM. ēo (īo)(ē)(ū), ēa (ē), u, o

<u>cleue</u> 54	<u>to clef</u> 916	<u>cloue</u> 822
<u>flee</u> 'fly' 405	<u>flow</u> 824	<u>flower</u> 653
<u>fle</u> 'fly' 888 ('flee')	<u>flowe</u> 905	<u>flower</u> 310, 611
	<u>schot</u> 63	<u>schoten</u> 666 <u>yschot</u> 281
	<u>ches</u> 139	<u>chosen</u> 337, 731 <u>chosen</u> 959
		<u>chossyn</u> 154
	<u>schef</u> 1329	
	(<u>driede</u> 120)	
		<u>boden</u> 1006

Inf.	Pret. Sg.	Pret. Pl.	Past Part.
	(<u>loste</u> 946, but cf. OE. <u>losian</u>)		(<u>lost</u> 1028, 1200)

Class III

(a) Nasal + consonant--WS. i, o (a), u, u; OM. i, o, u, u

<u>bygynne</u> 643, 797	<u>bygan</u> 221, 1047	<u>bygonnnen</u> 652	<u>bygonne</u> 114
		<u>by gonnnen</u> 647	
		<u>bygonne</u> 1107	
		<u>bygonn</u> 357	
	<u>gan</u> 608	<u>gon</u> 54	
<u>wynne</u> 404, 509 etc.		<u>wonnen</u> 306	<u>wonnen</u> 396 <u>wonne</u> 173
<u>fynde</u> 367, 388 etc.		<u>fondyn</u> 394	
		<u>founden</u> 1270	
	<u>ran</u> 12, 478	<u>ornen</u> 540	<u>by runne</u> 599, 1119
<u>drynke</u> 1070			
<u>synge</u> 473			
<u>rynge</u> 407			
		<u>bounden</u> 359, 585	<u>bonden</u> 10 <u>bounden</u> 369, 377, etc.
		<u>sponnen</u> 837	
		<u>sprongyn</u> 408	
			<u>wounden</u> 283 <u>ygrounde</u> 555 <u>bylompyn</u> 1064 <u>brongen</u> 1316

(b) l + consonant--WS. e, ea, u, o; OM. e, a, u, o

<u>helpe</u> 39, 119		<u>holpen</u> 1128 <u>holpyn</u> 1053
<u>swelt</u> 536	<u>swalten</u> 1172	
<u>zelde</u> 347, 1154	<u>zelden</u> 254, 1237	<u>zolden</u> 200, 296, etc.
	<u>swallen</u> 1145	

(c) r + consonant--WS. eo, ea, u, o; OM. eo (e), ea (e), u, o

worpe 62, 959

warpe 225

(d) Miscellaneous--WS. e (eo), ea (æ), u, o; OM. e, e (æ), u, o

fizten 650

fouzt 818

Inf.	Pret. Sg.	Pret. Pl.	Past Part.
<u>fyzten</u> 775		<u>ffouzt</u> 535	
<u>fiȝt</u> 858			
	<u>brast</u> 1199 (ON.?)	<u>brosten</u> 20, 306, etc.	<u>brosten</u> 606, 977
	<u>to breste</u> 152		
	<u>barst</u> 586		
	<u>brayde</u> 827		

Class IV

WS. e, æ, ē, o; OM. eo (io), e, ē, o

<u>ber</u> 364	<u>bar</u> 1078, 1092	<u>beren</u> 533 <u>bar</u> 466	<u>born</u> 72, 100, etc.
<u>come</u> 263, 350, etc.	<u>cam</u> 551, 1318 <u>came</u> 461, 563, etc.	<u>comen</u> 156, 214, etc.	<u>comen</u> 489, 1037
		<u>comyn</u> 335, 1050	<u>come</u> 79, 208
	<u>come</u> 626, 1062	<u>come</u> 441, 446, 605	
<u>breke</u> 144	<u>brake</u> 1112 <u>nome</u> 49 <u>scher</u> 63	<u>nomen</u> 191 <u>for schorne</u> 558	<u>broken</u> 132

Class V

WS. e, æ, ē, e; OM. eo (io) (e), e, ē, e

<u>gete</u> 1176	<u>gate</u> 26	<u>geten</u> 638	<u>geten</u> 1215
<u>forȝyue</u> 1159	<u>ȝaf</u> 22, 215, 343	<u>ȝeuen</u> 838	<u>ȝeuen</u> 274 <u>ȝouen</u> 1142
<u>se</u> 256, 401, 416	<u>saw</u> 1045 <u>say</u> 581 <u>sey</u> 180	<u>seyen</u> 899 <u>sey</u> 1030	<u>sen</u> 821 <u>seyn</u> 1218, 1222
<u>speke</u> 784 <u>specke</u> 860 <u>wreken</u> 816		<u>eten</u> 1164	<u>mettyn</u> 919
<u>lygge</u> 869 <u>sitte</u> 690	<u>lay</u> 36 <u>bade</u> 229, 714, etc.	<u>seten</u> 474 <u>beden</u> 440, 1296	

Inf.

Pret. Sg.

Pret. Pl.

Past Part.

Class VI

WS. a, ō, ȝ, a; OM. ea (a), ȝ, ȝ, e

<u>take</u> 118, 266 etc.	<u>toke</u> 429, 907	<u>token</u> 77, 305 etc.	<u>taken</u> 645, 974, etc.
<u>withtake</u> 48	<u>vndertoke</u> 270		<u>take</u> 403, 1023, etc.
<u>taken</u> 1176			
			<u>vn take</u> 1013
			<u>tak</u> 861
<u>stonde</u> 352, 1100	<u>stode</u> 223, 588 etc.		
<u>drawen</u> 713	<u>drow</u> 1182	<u>drowen</u> 319, 426 etc.	<u>drawyn</u> 389
	<u>drowe</u> 940		<u>to drawe</u> 695
		<u>drow</u> 1331	
		<u>with drowen</u> 625	
	<u>slow</u> 1197	<u>slowen</u> 18, 268 etc.	
	<u>slowe</u> 151		
		<u>slow</u> 710	
	<u>wexe</u> 1306	<u>wexen</u> 575, 1145	
	(<u>wexed</u> 241)	<u>woxen</u> 559	
	<u>forsoke</u> 1134, 1155		
		<u>schoken</u> 555	(<u>schacked</u> 315)
			<u>gnawen</u> 1090
			<u>waschen</u> 788
			<u>fleyn</u> 694
<u>stap</u> 601			
<u>lauz</u> 495			
<u>swer</u> 1005			

Class VII

(a) OE. preterite in ē

<u>fongen</u> 1164	(<u>fenged</u> 1306)	
	<u>lete</u> 62, 713	
	<u>hatte</u> 162	
		<u>hoten</u> 134, 138, etc.
		<u>byhot</u> 1020
		<u>heyzt</u> 973
		(<u>adradde</u> 459)

(b) OE. preterite in eo

<u>falle</u> 883	<u>ffel</u> 1127	<u>fellen</u> 1073, 1113	<u>fallen</u> 610, 1024 etc.
	<u>ful</u> 61	<u>felle</u> 942	
	<u>byfelle</u> 233		<u>byfalle</u> 1066
<u>holde</u> 263, 1003		<u>helde</u> 1233	<u>holden</u> 951
<u>byholde</u> 334, 662 etc.		<u>held</u> 228	
<u>byholden</u> 697			
<u>byhold</u> 228			
	<u>vmbe felde</u> 219		
<u>bete</u> 1260	<u>bet</u> 542	<u>beten</u> 657	<u>beten</u> 10 <u>betyn</u> 468, 977, etc.
			<u>ybetyn</u> 414 <u>for beten</u> 842
	<u>how</u> 544	<u>hewen</u> 557	<u>hewen</u> 640, 755, etc.
		<u>hewyn</u> 307	<u>to hewen</u> 1004
<u>knowe</u> 411, 484	<u>knewe</u> 43, 793	<u>knewen</u> 156	<u>vnknownen</u> 119
<u>know</u> 331	<u>knew</u> 186		
<u>blowe</u> 728	<u>blewe</u> 57	<u>blewen</u> 718	
<u>wepe</u> 221			<u>growyn</u> 110
		<u>brewen</u> 820	
		<u>brow</u> 70	

(The syntax of brow in l. 70 is not clear.)

b) Weak Verbs

(1) Preterites in -ed(e), -id(e), -yd

poled 38, poled 35, 1302, 1324, blyndfelled 14, cloched 30,
lyked 62, leched 122, rered 124, leued 131, mened 179, banked 195,
asked 212, clansed 241, schewed 242, blessed 250, loued 273,
folwed 280, dered 804, warned 382, quelled 932, wylned 1041,
wered 1204, henged 1219, ended 721, 920, hated 923, 1043
hatide 7, spilide 22, endid 460
3emyd 60

The past participle ends

(a) in ed, yd: pyned 8, yferked 78, yloued 145, heried 153, heled
174, ynempned 161, wounded 165, britned 404, drowned 479, grounded

515, demed 985, yheled 450, quelled 1304, made 1022, wemmyd 176, hemmyd 753

(b) in et: honget 696

(c) in ette: stoppette 575

(2) Preterites in -d(e), -t(e)

(Merging of stem and suffixal dentals and various assimilations are quite common.)

sayde 15, sayd 1227, seide 79, hadde 19, spedde 22, tydde 25, made 190, bredde 32, wende, 69, fedde 130, sende 135, solde 150, dwelde 309, tolde 206, layde 382, ladde 435, ferde 530, ledde 892, brad 1078

by wente 11, razte 14, sette 56, putte 123, dempte 134, lafte 185, souzte 291, laste 421, lyste 458, bouzte 592, wrozt 24, souzt 42, sent 45, bozt 74, left 164, brozt 192, put 243, knyt 363, bouzt 496

The past participle displays the same variety of endings:

bytide 31, made 84, schende 372, leyd 171, cud 211, told 262, tld 374

schred 281, bild 386, sprad 405, seid 999, brad 1090

praste 17, wrozte 327, sette 335, lauzte 400, lafte 632, y brozt 297, put 8, sent 80, sett 311, lent 354, rest 605, knyt 700, dizt 426, left 578, ywrozt 462, went 918, kept 995, souzt 1033

c) Verbs of Foreign Origin

(All imported verbs except the early Norse loan taka--and the possibly Norse bresta--are inflected weak.)

(1) Scandinavian

The preterite ends

(a) in ed, id: deyed 6, deied 1330, bolned 57, carped 196, called 257, glitered 415, mynned 480, bused 741, croked 1029, happned 1195, wanted 1244, kyppid 477

(b) in d(e): garde 258, calde 934, deyd 1231

(c) in te: flatte 61, brente 302

(d) in -(e) (through merging of stem and suffixal dentals): kest 1328, caste 159, hytte 803, lifte 997

The past participle ends

(a) in ed: caled 34, called 209, ycalled 6, atled 366, busked 455, waled 884

(b) in -(e) (through merging of stem and suffixal dentals): cast 1266, lifte 399, hytte 825

(2) French

The preterite ends

(a) in ed(e), id: praied 1153, bytrayed 350, hasted 19, presed 24, touched 101, conceyued 104, keuered 125, reyned 169, werred 190, preched 201, passed 215, vnclosed 224, presented 232, waried 1076, to crased 236, a proched 243, cried 244, availed 249, assembled 265, charged 364, scaped 419, batayled 428, joycid 1136

(b) in et, yt: noyet 27, preset 444, feffyt 1326

(c) in te: platte 218

(d) in t: kayzt 944

The past participle ends

(a) in ed, id, yd: passed 76, preued 99, preysed 99, touched 105, fourmed 109, peynted 163, cured 268, stroyed 274, ydressed 278, paled 329, toured 333, ibrytaged 409, closed 453, apaied 880, charged 457, cacched 724, ynoyntid 299, perschid 607, enuenymyd 654, bocklyd 752

(b) in et: certifiyet 380

(c) in d: kerneld 331, a jorneyd 1321

(d) in t: caugt 1026

2. Inflection

a) Present

(1) Indicative

Singular

The first person ends in e: fynde 23, charge 96, haue 127, 179, etc., byleue 197, a fowe 199, take 220, bidde 246, 345, passe 352, 1004, triste 967, holde 991, trowe 1203.

The second person ends in est: atlest 379

The third person ends in eþ (iþ, yþ) nearly 200 times; it ends in es (is, ys) about 20 times. The e of the former is occa-

sionally syncopated: sayþ 763, 1053, etc., saþ 1089, seiþ 488, layþ 748, leyþ 1194, haþ 92, 162 (12 times), lyþ 29, 734. The forms liþe 508 and fleþe 520 should be noted; also li3t 872. The es-forms follow: fraynes 77, nyckes 89, sprynges 102, formes 417, tolles 537, for justes 538, rapis 65, atles 565, bounys 741, helpys 778, satles 1057, vmbe feldes 1127, bretnes 1128, commaundys 1289, melys 1301, rises 790, byddis 794, tides 862, lympis 866, fleis 988, fettes 1042.

Plural

The plural ends in en (yn) over 100 times. Syncopated forms are sayn 957, 1094 (but sayen in line 339) and han 380, 403 (12 times). Notice also werien 669.

Nine plurals show loss of the final n (most of these are not of the haue we type illustrated in line 366): haue 366, make 375, wynne 771, runne 805, 560, haue 512, touche 1101, þenke 1102, and ffeynte 1144. put 378 has no ending. Particularly noteworthy are tyeþ 619, scheweþ 863, redeþ 960, spekeþ 970, weldeþ 1011, bysecheþ 1158, and waytes--the sole es-plural

(2) Subjunctive

Except in the third person singular ambiguity of form makes it impracticable to attempt to distinguish between indicative and subjunctive. Occasionally we find indicative forms where we should expect subjunctive; for example: who so þe paas redeþ 500, who so doþ by anoþer 985. The following, though, are clearly subjunctives (third person singular): passe 368, 378, zelde 402, ride 403, blesse 440, haue 520, 782, 1039, recche 782, 3yue 892, 1108, hape 1103, rede 1334, and (without ending) stond 978 and worþ 1227. Elsewhere, including the preterite, the attempt to distinguish between these two moods would be unfruitful.

(3) Imperative

The singular of the imperative generally ends in e: prophecie 15, telle, 93, 185, nempne 187, sende 199, kyþe 979, bytake 989, graunte 1055, and tourne 1083. Exceptions are zeld 1083 and entr 1084.

The plural usually ends in eþ (iþ, yþ): telliþ 368, lestenyþ 488, byholdeþ 493, comeþ 767, knoweþ 768, wayteþ 769, tourneþ 913. sayþ 345 shows syncopation. make 350 and take 1213

are without the distinguishing consonant. lat 495, 509, lacks the entire ending.

b) Preterite

(1) Strong Verbs

Singular

1 pers.: sey 'saw' 180

2 pers.: no examples

3 pers.: roos 55, drof 52; etc. bystrode 1204
 schot 63, flow 824; etc. flowe 905
 ran 12, barst 586; etc. warpe 225, to breste 152,
 brayde 827
 bar 1078, cam 551; etc. came 461, come 626, nome 49,
 brake 1112
 zaf 22, lay 36; etc. gate 26, bade 229
 drow 1182, slow 1197 toke 429, stode 223, drowe
 940, slowe 151, forsoke 1134
 ffel 1127, bet 542; etc. lete 62, byfelle 233, vmbe
 felde 219, knewe 43, blewe 57

(In Veronyk 30 hatte 162 we have a relic of the old medio-passive.)

Plural (All persons)

riden 1334, dryuen 838; etc.
flowen 310, chossyn 154; etc.
fondyn 394, swalten 1172; etc. bygonne 1107, bygonn 357,
 gon 54, fouzt 818
beren 533, comyn 335; etc. bar 466, come 441
geten 638, seyen 899; etc. sey 1030
token 77, woxen 559; etc. drow 1331, slow 710
fellen 1073, hewyn 307; etc. felle 942, helde 1233,
 held 228, knew 186

(2) Weak Verbs

Singular

1 pers.: wrozt 178, 972

2 pers.: made 995

3 pers.: See lists given under "Formation of the Preterite,"
 "Weak Verbs" (including "Verbs of Foreign Origin").

Plural

In about 50 instances the en-ending is retained:

demeden 267, 693, assenteden 210, kepten 238, bro3ten 645, kilden 835, setten 301, tolden 355, wenten 251, 732, ladden 564, maden 1283 (but usually made), vmbe casten 18; etc.

In the remaining instances (slightly over 100) the plural is indistinguishable from the singular.

c) Compound Tenses

Shall and will (for forms see below under "Preterite-Present" and "Anomalous Verbs") are used in forming the future tense.

The present-perfect and past-perfect tenses employ as auxiliaries the present- and past-tense forms, respectively, of be and have--the former with verbs of motion: am come 79, was gon 37, was passed 153 as compared with hab serued 1056, hadde heried 153, hadde wrozt 786; but notice also passed hadde 76.

d) Infinitive

The customary ending for the infinitive is e:

here 129, stynte 223, wende 229, departe 230, loke 242, venge 184, stire 182, buske 183, wyrche 183, rekene 128, encresche 139, wepe 221, flee 405, helpe 39, lygge 869, erye 1290; etc. (over 200 instances).

The fuller ending in -en (-yn) has been retained in about 30 infinitives: clateren 54, newen 182, seken 293, juggen 427, angren 701, cacchen 733, vengen 937, lengen 1135, lengben 1096, habben 816, fizten 650, drawen 713, carpyn 357, betyn 714, worchyn 1105; etc. seyn 864 shows syncope of the vowel.

There are several occurrences of the infinitive without ending:

pay 318, 1140, 1315, affray 668, say 96, sey 949, 971, dey 691, rer 647, 887, ber 364, swer 1005, wer 1273, her 855, furber 982, hur 886, spar 637, marr 778, stynt 874, sow 1291, swelt 536, fizt stap 601, laus 495, byhold 228, know 331. se 256, 401, 416 and fle 888 represent the verba contracta.

Three verbs of OF. provenience end in y:

stuny 870, werry 918, saury 972.

In (to) done 212 we may have a relic of the older in-

flected infinitive.

e) Participles

(1) Present

The present participle generally ends in ande:

criande 196, rennande 226, lyande 328, wedande 381, gapande 390, bryuande 433, lokande 400, wariande 673; etc. (some 25 occurrences). A variant of this ending is seen in lemaunde 1256; gronnand 195 is the only example without final e.

As a participial ending yng (yngē) occurs 9 times:

growyng 40, laschyng 304, stondyng 332, fastyng 1086, wepyng 1093, fi3tyng 1093, brendyng (for brennyng) 1219, fedyng 1326, betyngē 766.

(The verbal noun in -yng is quite common: wepyng

wryngyng of hondis 247, pypyng 253, robbyng 277, schewyng 278, roryng 303, comyng 340, biddyng 365, setlyng 401, nehyng 421, stuffyng 422, prechyng 1157, quasschyng 1191; etc.)

(2) Past

Strong verbs

The past participle generally ends in en (yn):

dryuen 1253, chosen 959, bylompyn 1064, comyn 271, geten 1215, taken 645, fallen 610; etc. After r or a vowel the e is synco-pated: born 72, sen 821, seyn 1218, fleyn 694.

Frequently the n is dropped:

cloue 822, ygrounde 555, come 79, take 403, byfalle 1066; etc. (at least 15 instances).

Sometimes the entire ending has been lost:

yschot 281, tak 861, byhot 1020, hey3t 973.

Weak verbs

See lists given under "Formation of the Preterite," "Weak Verbs" (including "Verbs of Foreign Origin"). A note about complet in line 1039 may be in place here. Coming from the Latin past participle, possibly by way of French, it may never, in English, have had an ending.

With both strong and weak verbs the OE. prefix ge- is often retained (as y-); see lists given earlier.

3. Preterite-present Verbs

Class I

OE. āganOE. witan

Only these forms occur:

Only these forms occur:

owen 968 pres. indic. pl.
owene 784 pres. subj. sg.
owede 217 pret. indic. 3 sg.
owne 518 pp., adj.
owen 1078, 1090 pp., adj.

wite 458 inf.
wyst 1232 pret. indic. 1 sg.
wyste 1037 pret. indic. 3 sg.
wist 1132 pret. indic. 3 sg.

Class III

OE. cunnanOE. durran

Only these forms occur:

Only one form occurs:

canste 86 pres. indic. 2 sg.
coup 39 pret. indic. 3 sg.
coupe 77, 128, etc. pret. indic. 3 sg.
coupe 473, 1034 pret. indic. pl.
vncoup 64 pp., adj.

derst 1255 pret. indic. 3 sg.

Class IV

OE. sculanPres. indic. 1 sg. schal 88, 183, etc.2 sg. schalt 9933 sg. schal 93, 296, etc.pl. schul 783, 871, etc.Preterite 3 sg. schold 860, 947, scholde 284, 398, 637, etc.pl. schold 1164, scholde 69, 356, 776, etc.

Class V

OE. maganPres. indic. 2 sg. may 2933 sg. may 512, 869, etc.pl. may 770, mowe 821, 873Preterite 1 sg. my3t 9723 sg. my3t 223, 242, 773, etc.pl. my3t 228, 256, 584, etc.

4. Anomalous Verbs

OE. bēon (wesan)

Pres. indic.	1 sg.	<u>am</u> 79	
	3 sg.	<u>beþ</u> 796, <u>is</u> 31, 82, etc. (<u>nis</u> 128, <u>nys</u> 489, 491)	
	pl.	<u>ben</u> 108, 113, etc. (12 times); <u>beþ</u> 365	
Pres. subj.	2 sg.	<u>be</u> 15	
	3 sg.	<u>be</u> 200, 795, etc.	
Imperative	sg.	<u>be</u> 188, 1056	
Infinitive		<u>be</u> 200, 294, etc.	
Pret. indic.	2 sg.	<u>was</u> 198	
	3 sg.	<u>was</u> 3, 9, etc. (<u>nas</u> 39, 1285)	
	pl.	<u>wer</u> 73, 76, etc. <u>weren</u> 114, 354, etc. <u>was</u> 209, 459, 555, 1028	
Pret. subj.	sg.	<u>wer</u> 7, 83, etc.	
	pl.	<u>wer</u> 788	
Past part.		<u>be</u> 171, 834, 1054, <u>ben</u> 833	

OE. willan

Pres. indic.	1 sg.	<u>wolle</u> 949, <u>wole</u> 97, <u>wol</u> 980, 1001	
	pl.	<u>willeþ</u> 377, <u>wolle</u> 632, <u>wol</u> 782, 885, 1311	
Preterite	1 sg.	<u>wolde</u> 965 (<u>nold</u> 1013)	
	2 sg.	<u>wolde</u> 1054	
	3 sg.	<u>wolde</u> 5, 71, etc. (<u>nolde</u> 144, <u>nold</u> 1106, 1142)	
	pl.	<u>wolde</u> 21, 48, etc. <u>wolden</u> 816	

OE. gān

Pres. indic.	3 sg.	<u>goob</u> 1019	
Infinitive		<u>go</u> 343	
Preterite	3 sg.	<u>zede</u> 237, 561, etc.	
	pl.	<u>zede</u> 317, 353, etc. <u>zeden</u> 553, 1237	
Past part.		<u>gon</u> 37, 929, etc.	

OE. dōn

Pres. indic.	2 sg.	<u>dest</u> 996
	3 sg.	<u>dop</u> 310, 985
	pl.	<u>doun</u> 984
Infinitive		<u>do</u> 134, 184, <u>doun</u> 904, <u>done</u> 212
Preterite	3 sg.	<u>dide</u> 127
	pl.	<u>diden</u> 319, <u>deden</u> 338
Past part.		<u>don</u> 179, 725, 1231, 1299, 1302, <u>do</u> 1323

CHAPTER III

DIALECT FEATURES

Points Considered

Point

1. OE. $\check{a}$ + nasal as a or o.
2. OE. $\check{a}$ + l + cons. mutated as a or e.
3. OE. ' - $\check{a}$ nd' as -and or -ond.
4. OE. $\check{y}$ as i, ü, e.
5. OE. $\bar{a}$ as a or o.
6. OE. $\bar{a}$ w as aw or ow.
7. OE. $\bar{a}$ g, $\bar{a}$ h as aw or ow (a₃ or o₃).
8. OE. $\bar{o}$ as o or ü.
9. Do a₁, e₁, o₁ appear for $\bar{a}$, $\bar{e}$, $\bar{o}$?
10. OE. $\check{eo}$ as e or a rounded vowel (oe, u, ue).
11. OE. $\check{ea}$ + cons. mutated as e or ü.
12. Is ME. $\check{e}_3$ from OE. $\bar{e}$ ag, $\bar{e}$ ah raised to i₃?
13. OE. hw as wh, w, or qu.
14. Any initial voicing of f, s?
15. Does 'sc-' in unstressed positions appear as s- ?
16. The form of 'she.'
17. The form of 'they.'
18. The form of 'them.'
19. The form of 'their.'
20. Is the adj. and adv. ending '-ly' or '-lich(e)'?
21. The infinitive termination.
22. Does the 'i-' verbal prefix survive?
23. The pres. part. termination.
24. The pres. indic. 3 sg. termination.
25. The pres. indic. pl. termination.
26. The imperative plural termination.
27. The wk. pret. 2 sg. termination.
28. Is the final '-ed' of the wk. pret. and past part. unvoiced?
29. Are the contracted forms of take (ta) and make (ma) ever found?

30. Are the forms 'quilke,' 'swilke,' found rather than 'whiche,' 'swiche'?

Analysis of the Different Manuscripts

I. Laud Misc. 656 (L)

Point

1. Only a is found: e.g., name 47, 140, 187; man 101, 149, 154, etc. (never mon).
2. Fallib occurs (926) with the meaning 'fells'; but note also blyndfelled 14 and weldep 1011, if this latter, as Miss Day suggests in her glossary, comes from OE. -wieldan.
3. The -ond forms predominate in a ratio of 3 to 1.
4. OE. ȳ appears as i 78 times, as ü 28 times, as e 13 times.
5. OE. ā always appears as o. There is a possible exception in line 166, where man may mean 'crime.'
6. OE. āw always gives ow: e.g., know(e) 331, 411; blowe(n) 439, 521, 634, etc.
7. OE. āg, āh always appears as ow (o3): owen 983, 1050, 1078, etc.; o3t 387.
8. OE. ō always remains o: goode 95, 546, 638, etc.
9. ai is never used for ā, but ei is used for ē in steil 522 and in deil 641, 712, 851, and 1097, and oi is used for ō in doil 248 and in doylful 159, 222.
10. OE. eo appears as a rounded vowel 48 times, as e about 350 times.
11. The more common development is e: e.g., her(e) occurs 5 times, hur(e) twice.
12. ME. ē3 from OE. ēag, ēah remains unraised in about 25 instances; it is raised to i3 only 5 times.
13. wh is invariable for OE. hw.
14. There are no instances of the initial voicing of f or g; however, OF. v is rendered by an f in three words: a fowe 199, fanward 429, and soferayn 986.
15. There are no instances of s- for 'sc-.'
16. Only 3o occurs (ll. 101, 162, 218, 1078 (twice), and 1092).
17. hy occurs twice; otherwise we find only p-forms.
18. hem only.
19. Only her(e) and hir.
20. 'ly' and '-lich(e)' occur in about equal numbers.

Point

21. The -n of the infinitive is kept in only about 30 instances.
22. The verbal prefix 'i-' is retained (with the past part.) in only about 15 instances.
23. -ande appears about 25 times; -yng(e), 9 times; -ynde, once.
24. -eþ appears nearly 200 times; -es, about 20 times.
25. -en occurs over 100 times; -eþ, 6 times; -es, once.
26. The imperative plural generally ends in eþ; there are no instances of an es ending.
27. The sole example of the wk. pret. 2 sg. is made 995.
28. ed is unvoiced only 6 times.
29. There are no instances of ta or ma or any contractions involving them (except made, of course).
30. Neither 'quilke' or 'swilke' appears.

II. Brit. Mus. Cotton Calig. A. ii (C)

Point

1. a is greatly predominant: e.g., man occurs at least 20 times; but mon does occur in ll. 154, 348, and 1180.
2. Only e is found, as in fellede 1127, blyndfelled 14.
3. The -ond forms predominate in a ratio of 2 to 1.
4. OE. ȳ is generally unrounded to i. The rounded vowel ü is found in but one word: burye 568, 1148. Spellings with e, though, appear at least 15 times (berde 100, sherte 348, dede 'did' 127, etc.).
5. OE. ā invariably appears as o.
6. OE. āw always gives ow.
7. OE. āg, āh always appears as ow (oꝝ).
8. OE. ō invariably remains o.
9. There are no instances of ai, ei, oi for ā, ē, ō.
10. OE. ēo invariably appears as e.
11. The only development is e: e.g., herde 1125, here 340, 394, 784, 821, etc.
12. Except in e3en 997, ME. ē3 is always raised: hygh 51, hy3e 521, hye 977, hyethe 649; etc.
13. wh is invariable for OE. hw.
14. There are no instances of initial voicing for f or s.
15. There are no instances of s- for 'sc-.'
16. The only forms are she and sche.
17. The only forms are þey and they (thay).

Point

18. Only hem occurs.
19. Only her and here.
20. Except for deuylych 449, only forms in 'ly(e)' are found.
21. The -n of the infinitive has been lost in the great majority of cases.
22. The verbal prefix 'i-' is retained (with the past part.) much less frequently than it is dropped.
23. -ende occurs once (lyende 328); otherwise -ynge is invariable.
24. With but two exceptions (leues 1124 and proferes 1297) only forms in -eth(e) are found.
25. -en is usual; -es is not found; the only significant variants are to be seen in assayleth 310 and seybe 339.
26. There are 8 occurrences of the imperative plural; 4 end in eth, 4 in e (if we include be 795).
27. No instances.
28. There are no instances of unvoicing.
29. The only significant contracted form is tane pp. 861, 1013 (the more usual form is taken 403, 1001, 1023).
30. whyche and swyche (with minor variations) appear a half-dozen times; the spellings 'quilke' and 'swilke' are not represented.

III. Camb. Univ. Mm. 5. 14 (U)

Point

1. Only a occurs.
2. Only e is found: blynde felde 14, felled 926, felles 1127, ffeld 595; etc.
3. The -ond forms predominate in a ratio of 3 to 1.
4. OE. ȳ is usually unrounded to i. The rounded vowel ii appears in only two words: bury 568, 1148 and muchē 44, 69, 435 (15 occurrences). The third development is found only in beerd 'maiden' 100, 221.
5. OE. ā always appears as o.
6. OE. āw invariably gives ow.
7. With the exception of aught 'possessed' 217, OE. āg, āh always appears as ow, as in owen 272, 968, 1050, etc.
8. OE. ō always remains o.

Point

9. There are no instances of ai, ei, oi for ā, ē, ō.
10. OE. eo invariably appears as e.
11. The only development is e: here 129, 340, 394, etc.
12. ME. ē3 from OE. ēag, ēah is raised to ī3 in 21 instances; in 14 instances it is unraised, as in neye 521 contrasted with nyghe 448, 1082.
13. wh is invariable for OE. hw.
14. There are no instances of the initial voicing of f or s.
15. There are no instances of s- for 'sc-.'
16. Only she occurs.
17. Only they (thei, thay) occurs.
18. Except for a solitary them 33, hem is the only form.
19. Only her and here.
20. '-ly' is the usual ending; the only exceptions are semeliche 137, deueliche 449, and komeliche 1010.
21. The -n of the infinitive has generally been lost.
22. The verbal prefix has been retained with only an occasional past participle.
23. -yng (-ing) appears about 20 times; -and, 18 times.
24. -eth appears about 75 times; -es, 70 times.
25. assaileth 310 is the only -eth plural, and metes the only clear instance of an -es plural. dos 996 may be a plural; it parallels an -en form, but on several occasions the scribe carelessly adds -en to a verb which can only be singular.
26. There are 9 imperative plurals: byholde 493, knowe 768, take 1213; say 345, 365; listens 488, komes 767, turnes 913; telleth 368.
27. madest 995 is the only clear example, though myntes 379 is apparently a wk. pret. 2 sg. also.
28. There are no instances of unvoicing.
29. The only significant contractions are tan 403, 975 and tane 861, 1013, etc. (4 instances of the latter).
30. whiche 16, swiche 372, and such 172 are the only forms. (However--as a parallel development from OE.--ilk appears about 5 times as frequently as ich.)

IV. Lambeth Palace 491 (D)

Point

1. Only a occurs.
2. Several examples with e are found but none with a.
3. -ond forms predominate in a ratio of almost 10 to 1.
4. OE. ȳ is generally unrounded to i. It never appears as ü. It appears as e 11 times: e.g., ferst 161, 605, 695, ded 'did' 319, bery 568, crepil 1029, lest 'desired' 1262; etc. The spelling bierd(e), for OE. byrde, occurs 3 times: 100, 825, 1087.
5. OE. ā always appears as o.
6. OE. āw invariably gives ow.
7. Except for auht 'possessed' 217, OE. āg, āh always gives ow, as in own(e) 1048, 1078, 1090, etc.
8. OE. ō always remains o.
9. There are no instances of ai, ei, oi for a, e, o.
10. OE. ēo virtually always appears as e. The only exception is found in the case of the word berne, which, in addition to this usual form, appears 14 times as bierne(s).
11. The only development is e.
12. Out of 30 instances ME. ē3 from OE. ēag, ēah is raised to ī3 in all but four: height 228, neigh 528, even 997, and pey 'though' 1195.
13. wh is invariable for OE. hw.
14. There are no instances of the initial voicing of f or s with the exception of vanys 'pennants' 287. This appears in L as fanēs.
15. There are no instances of s- for 'sc-.'
16. Only she occurs.
17. Only they (bei) occurs.
18. them is inserted above l. 215 and then struck out; otherwise hem is the sole form.
19. Only her.
20. '-ly' is the rule; the exceptions are semelich 137, deflich 454, comelich 1010, and comlich 1212.
21. The -n of the infinitive has generally been lost.
22. The verbal prefix is retained very infrequently.
23. -yng (-ing) is the only termination employed.
24. -eth (-ith) is the usual ending; -es (-is) occurs about 30 times.

Point

25. The usual ending is -yn; -e is also common. There are but two instances of the ending -ith: assailith 310 and ledith 564. The only -ys plural is walkys 59.
26. The regular ending is -ith; the only significant exception is comes 767.
27. myntis 379 seems to be a wk. pret. 2 sg.
28. No instances of unvoicing.
29. The only significant contractions are tane 861 and vntane 1013.
30. which 16 and such 172, 372, 1023 are the only forms.

V. Ashburnham 130 (E)

Point

1. Only a occurs.
2. With the exception of falle 351, only e is found (8 instances).
3. Except for hand 168 and hande 1140, only -ond forms are found (over 30 instances).
4. OE. ȳ is generally unrounded to i. However, it appears as ü 9 times and as e 14 times. This does not include the 23 occurrences of the spelling meche, which may represent merely an OE. i (the scribe frequently writes e for i). The verb 'did' is spelled dude 319, dede 18, 127, 184, and dode 746, 1088, 1237--note also dodyn 845.
5. OE. ā virtually always appears as o. An exception is seen in namore 907, 1062. It should also be remarked that 'not' is always spelled nat.
6. OE. āw usually gives ow. The exceptions are au3t 387, 680 and naw3t 19, 1138.
7. OE. āg, āh always appears as ow.
8. OE. ō invariably remains o.
9. There are no instances of ai, ei, oi for ā, ē, ō.
10. OE. ēo always gives e.
11. The only development is e (ee).
12. ME. ē3 from OE. ēag, ēah remains unraised in 8 instances; it is raised to ī3 in 10.
13. wh is invariable for OE. hw.
14. There are no instances of the initial voicing of f or s.
15. No instances of s- for 'sc-.'

Point

16. The forms are sche 162, 218 and zhe 1078, 1080, 1087.
17. Only they (thei, þey, þei) occurs.
18. hem only.
19. The usual form is her(e). Two exceptions are found: þere 140 and ther 1318.
20. '-ly' and '-lich(e)' occur in very nearly equal proportion.
21. The -n of the infinitive has generally been lost.
22. The verbal prefix is much more frequently dropped than retained.
23. The only termination is -yng.
24. The regular ending is -eth. The only exceptions are dryues 58 and ropes 65.
25. There are 6 -eth plurals; no -es plurals.
26. There are 7 imperative plurals in -eth (-yth); 3 with -e or no ending.
27. The three examples of the wk. pret. 2 sg. termination are mentist 379, madist 995, and wuldest 1054.
28. There is but one instance of unvoicing: arayt 258.
29. No contracted forms of take and make (with any significance) occur.
30. The forms 'quilke,' 'swilke' are never found. which(e) appears 5 times; the form wich 835 (cf. Point 13) seems to be a scribal blunder.

VI. Brit. Mus. Cotton Vesp. E. xvi (V) A Fragment

Point

1. Only a occurs.
2. Only e is found.
3. -ond is regular. -and is found in 3 instances, though; see, e.g., ll. 1006 and 1174.
4. OE. ȳ appears as i 22 times, as ü twice (luste vb. 1262 and fulle 1275, apparently a verb also), as e 12 times: e.g., creple 1029, berien 1148, vnshette 1169, 1217, shertes 1238, dent(e) 1198, 1200, 1208, 1231.
5. OE. ā invariably appears as o.
6. The only word in this fragment with possible relevance is noght 1245, 1249.
7. OE. āg, āh always appears as ow.
8. OE. ō invariably remains o.

Point

9. There are no instances of ai, ei, oi for ā, ē, ō.
10. The only development is e.
11. e only.
12. ē is raised in high(e) 977, 1013, 1188, byes 1060, and bies 1274; it remains unraised in even 997, eye 1045, and negh (2 occurrences).
13. wh is invariable for OE. hw.
14. There are no instances of the initial voicing of f or s.
15. No instances of s- for 'sc-.'
16. The only form is she.
17. Only they (þey, þei) occurs.
18. hem is regular. The only exception is þem 1164.
19. her occurs 7 times; þeire, 9 times.
20. '-ly' appears 9 times; '-liche,' twice.
21. The -n of the infinitive is generally dropped.
22. The verbal prefix survives only in ybought 1210.
23. Typical terminations are seen in glowand 1014 and wepande 1093; unusual ones in fastaunde 1086, stondaunt 1285, and glemende 1252. Also to be noted: wenten singyng away in line 1333.
24. -es (-is, etc.) forms are regular. The only exception is hath 1054, 1056.
25. The usual ending is en (yn, etc.), e is occasionally found, and es occurs once: grubbes 1108.
26. The only instance is takes 1213.
27. The only occurrences are madest 995 and woldest 1054.
28. There are no instances of unvoicing.
29. The only significant contractions are tane 1173, vn tane 1013, and tas 1151.
30. The only example is suche 1072.

VII. Brit. Mus. Add. 31042 (A)

Point

1. Only a occurs.
2. Only e.
3. The -and forms predominate in a ratio of more than 4 to 1.
4. OE. ȳ is usually unrounded to i. The only other development is e, which occurs at least 11 times: e.g., besy 568, heued 'hived' 33, brenyes 955, 1119, 1238, crepille 1029,

Point

- belde p.p. 386, beldynge sb. 1260.
5. OE. ā is frequently retained as a: twa 133, maa 127, by halde 228, balde 451, thase 97, sa 57, sarere 35, brade 57, drave 52; etc. However, o forms predominate in a ratio of slightly over 2 to 1. Also noteworthy are the forms taulde 1301 and saulde 1312.
 6. OE. āw usually appears as aw: e.g., sawen 110, knawe 411, 484, thrawen 820, blawande 740. The only two exceptions are blowe 728 and knowes 768.
 7. aw is the more common development. The examples are: awen 968, 983, 1078, 1090 (but owne 518 and owen 1050), lawe 'low' 171, lawere 1312, and aughte 84, 217.
 8. OE. ō is more frequently retained as o than not. i forms are a strong minority, though (they occur at least 55 times); particularly common is the form gud(e). On the other hand, blode, a very common word, always has o.
 9. The spelling whayme 197, 246 is to be noted; also laythe adj. 252 (the sb. is spelled lathe in l. 872). vale 'veil' appears in line 249 (besides the more common vayle 162, 231). Cf. gayleys 'galleys' 287 and the two spellings (thaym and pam) for the personal pronoun.
 10. OE. eo invariably appears as e.
 11. The only development is e.
 12. ē is never raised to ī (unless to nye 521 means 'draw near').
 13. wh is usual for OE. hw. However, 'who' is spelled wo on 3 occasions (ll. 773, 782, and 985), though who is more common. In line 503 we have qwedir 'whether' alliterating with quarelle and qwhite clayme.
 14. There are no instances of the initial voicing of f or s.
 15. sall appears 13 times; schall(e), 3 times. solde appears 14 times; scholde (schulde), 12 times.
 16. scho is the invariable form.
 17. Only thay(e) (pay) occurs.
 18. Only thaym (pam).
 19. Only thaire (thayre, pair(e)).
 20. '-ly' is regular. '-liche' appears but 5 times.
 21. The -n of the infinitive is generally dropped.
 22. The verbal prefix survives only in igrounde 559 and ydrawen 695.

Point

23. The usual termination is and(e). The only exceptions: feghtynge folke 1113 and feghttynge men 1183.
24. -es is invariable (understanding this to include, of course, minor variations, such as are seen in hase, dose, gose, sayse, etc.).
25. The usual ending is es (is, ys). In about a dozen instances the ending is en (yn) and in another dozen or more instances just e.
26. The usual imperative plural termination is es (is, ys) or a variant such as we have in beese 795. Otherwise we have just late 495, 509.
27. The sole example of the wk. pret. 2 sg. is made 995.
28. The final '-ed' is unvoiced only in lechit 122.
29. The only significant contraction is tane, which appears in an extra line added after 1228.
30. The only forms are whilke 16, swilke 172, and swiche 1072. swilke also is found in an extra line added after 763.

Recapitulation--All Seven MSS

Point

1. Six MSS have only a; mon occurs 3 times in G.
2. e is the usual development. L has falliþ once; E has falle once.
3. -ond forms predominate in all MSS except A.
4. OE. ȳ is usually unrounded to i. It appears as ü more than twice in but 3 MSS: L (28 times), U (17 times), and E (9 times). It appears as e 11 or more times in 6 of the MSS (in all, that is, except U).
5. OE. ā appears as o exclusively in 5 of the MSS. There are a few instances of a in E and a great number in A.
6. OE. āw gives only ow in 5 MSS. E offers a few exceptions. A usually has aw.
7. aught 'possessed' appears once in U and once in D. Otherwise OE. āg, āh appears only as ow (o3) in 6 of the MSS. A usually has aw.
8. Only in A does OE. ō ever appear as ü.
9. ai is used for ā in A only (in not over a half-dozen different words). L contains a few instances of ei for ē and of oi for ō.

Point

10. L is alone in showing a rounded vowel for OE. eo.
11. L is the only MS with any instances (2, to be exact) of ü for OE. ea + cons. mutated.
12. ME. ē3 from OE. ēag, ēah is virtually always raised to ī3 in 2 MSS: C (1 exception) and D (4 exceptions). It is generally unraised in L (5 exceptions) and A (1 possible exception). A fairly even balance is maintained in the other MSS.
13. In 6 of the MSS wh is the only spelling. A has wo 3 times for 'who' and qwedir once for 'whether' (for the sake of the alliteration).
14. Where L has fanēs 'pennants' D has vanys. Except for this there is no voicing of f or s in any of the MSS.
15. 'sc-' in unstressed positions appears as s- in A only.
16. Five MSS show only she (sche, zhe). L invariably has 3o, A scho.
17. For 'they' we find only th- (and þ-) forms in 6 of the MSS. But hy occurs twice in L.
18. For 'them' th- forms are invariable in A. The rest have only hem, except that U and V each show a solitary th- form.
19. For 'their' th- forms are invariable in A, common in V, and occur twice in E. Otherwise only her (hir) is used.
20. '-ly' is the usual ending in 5 of the MSS. In L and E '-ly' and '-lich(e)' are found in about equal numbers.
21. In all 7 MSS the -n of the infinitive has in the great majority of cases been lost.
22. The verbal prefix is retained with only an occasional past participle.
23. -ande is the usual termination in L, A, and V. -ende occurs once in C and once in V. -inde appears but once (in L). -ing is invariable in D and E and suffers but 1 exception in C. In U -ing appears about 20 times, -and 18.
24. -es is invariable in A and virtually so in V. It appears about 70 times (not quite 50 per cent) in U, 30 times in D, and 20 times in L. On the other hand, -eth is almost the sole form in both C and E and is, as we have seen, a very strong majority form in L and D.
25. For the pres. indic. pl. the -es ending appears only once or twice (if at all) in any MS except A, where it is the

Point

- usual ending. -eth is not much more common (no instances are to be found in A or V and only one or two in C, U, and D). Except in A, -en has the field pretty much to itself.
26. -es is the usual imp. pl. termination only in A. It also occurs 3 times in U (in about one-third of the instances), once in D, once in V, and elsewhere not at all.
 27. Examples are rather rare, but -est is clearly the more common ending for the wk. pret. 2 sg.
 28. -ed is unvoiced 6 times in L, once in E, and once in A.
 29. tas appears once in V. The only other significant contraction is tane, which occurs twice in C, 6 times in U, twice in D, twice in V, and once in A.
 30. whilke and swilke are found only in A, which also has swiche.

Summary

On the whole the MSS are pretty consistent in displaying East Midland traits. Western features are mainly limited to one MS: L. It alone shows any retention of OE. eo as a rounded vowel. It alone has so for 'she' or preserves OE. y as a rounded vowel in more than a score of instances. U has seventeen instances of this last; E has nine. The form mon is found only in C and but three times there. L and E each show but one example of 'fall' for 'fell,' and these may be due to confusion rather than intention.

Within the East Midland area the MSS as a group are not decidedly northern. Only one MS--A, which is in a category by itself--has more than one or two instances of the -es ending for the plural of the present indicative. As a termination for the third person singular present indicative -es dominates the field in only two MSS (A and V), whereas in four MSS -eth is either virtually the sole form or a strong majority form.

The Thornton MS (A), written, in all likelihood, in northern Yorkshire, shows a great number of dialect features not found in the other MSS. L likewise--though in a different way--stands apart from the rest. It displays at least a few characteristics of every main dialect region in England. I have already set forth its western features. For the South it has two instances of hy for 'they' and one instance of the termination -inde. The South-west is represented by two occurrences of hure (for 'hear') and

the Southeast by thirteen examples of e for OE. ȳ. Northern spellings are exemplified in such forms as steil, deil, and doil. None of the other MSS exhibits such heterogeneity.

A remarkable point is the fact that six of the MSS show e for OE. ȳ eleven or more times (embracing a considerable variety of words). This suggests for these six a southeastern ancestor somewhere along the line.

Obviously, linguistic data derived from the extant MSS give no sufficient objective evidence as to the language of the original. Still, the western characteristics of L may be taken, in view of the predominantly western character of the extant alliterative poetry, to be survivals of the dialect of the poet.

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